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The “New” Infinitive in Romani

Norbert Boretzky

Conservative Romani dialects have no special infinitive morphology; finite object clauses are used in place of an infinitive. Under the influence of East and Central European languages, finite forms (3rd P.SG., 2nd P.SG. or 3rd P.PL.) of subjunctive constructions have been transformed into new infinitives in many Romani dialects, the most widespread form being that of the original 3rd. P.SG. The new infinitive is a weakly nominalized form, it does not inflect for number, case, or determinateness, and it is rarely used with the passive. Since it remains identical in form with finite subjunctive personal forms, ambiguous constructions may occur. As for its functions, the new infinitive closely follows the model of the respective contact languages. It may serve as a subject, but in most instances it is equivalent to an object. The verb classes governing an infinitive are roughly the same as in Hungarian, the West- and East Slavic languages, and German.

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Although the category of infinitive (INF) is widespread among the Indo-European languages of India both as a morphological and a functional category, conservative European Romani as well as Syrian Nuri (or Nawari or Domari) show no signs of INF morphology. Most archaic in this respect are, in all probability, the Balkanic dialects of Romani, which make use of finite object clauses only. Central and East Central dialects have developed from such constructions a “new” INF, but it is by no means present in all of those dialects and it does not occur in the so called Vlach dialects. (“New” is put in quotations marks because we cannot be sure about the existence of INF in Indic Pre-Romani).

1. The Infinitive in India and in the Contact Languages of the Near East

An INF can be found e.g. in Hindi and Panjabi as well as in all Dardic languages (which are said to have played a role in the history of Romani). It cannot be said for the moment what functions INF has in the Dardic languages, but in Hindi and other languages INF is a full-fledged category occurring in many functions. For Hindi, we should distinguish a) an INF proper, which is characterized by the morpheme *-nā* and inflected like a masculine noun in *-ā*, combines with possessive pronouns and postpositions, and b) the bare verbal stem, often displaying functions equivalent to those of INFs in European languages.

One of the two forms occurs after modals, after the Hindi equivalent of the English progressive, after verbs like ‘try’, ‘refuse’, ‘force’, as well as after ‘finish’, after the verbs of motion, and finally after a number of auxiliaries expressing a

variety of aktionsarten. In displaying the inflectional and syntactic properties of a noun the INF proper is very similar to the Turkish INF in *-mak/-mek*. There are even more structural parallels between the two languages, since the verbal stem of Hindi as a second INF comes close to the short INF in *-ma/-me* of Turkish. At any rate, it has to be emphasized that the infinitives of Hindi are a frequent category that cannot be replaced by finite forms.

In view of this fact we are led to believe that early Romani had an INF which got lost on the Gypsies' way from India to Europe.¹ Iranian languages such as Persian and Kurdish, which are important as the earliest non-Indic contact languages of Romani, have INF as well. For this reason, it seems even less understandable why the Romani INF should have been abandoned during this time. Things are even more complicated, however. Even in Persian there are two INFs, one ending in *-dan/-tan* and one apocapated corresponding to the past stem; even here the longer form behaves more or less like a noun. Contrary to the Modern Indic languages, however, the Persian INF has fewer functions than, for instance, the Hindi INF, and in most cases INF can be omitted by using a subjunctive (SUBJ) form instead. Therefore it cannot be excluded with certainty that the INF category underwent a weakening during the contact with Iranian languages, but it appears highly unlikely that such influence led to the total loss of INF in Romani. Also, the later contact of Romani with Armenian cannot be made responsible for the loss, since Armenian is known as having a widely used INF. All this points to the fact that Greek played the decisive role in the loss of the category,² apparently not on European soil, but as early as in Anatolia, then culturally dominated by the Greeks and the Greek language. At the time of the immigration of the Roma, INFs were no longer in use in spoken Greek, although they occur frequently in literary documents. In the written language SUBJ constructions substitute for INF from the 12th century on (and older future forms are replaced by *θέ νά* and *θα νά* + SUBJ respectively, alongside *θέλω* + INF [cf. Browning 1969: 82f.]). From this we can conclude that an INF was rarely used in the colloquial speech of that time.

2. The Balkanic Dialects of Romani and the Balkan Languages

The southern dialects of Romani, i.e., dialects spoken in Greece, as well as Arli (Macedonia, Kosovo, Southern Serbia) and Erli (Bulgaria), Bugurdži (Kosovo, Macedonia), Drindari (Bulgaria), probably Ursari (Bulgaria, Rumania) and in all likelihood all Vlach dialects of Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary and countries north of them have no INF. In general they behave like the Balkan languages, especially like Greek and Bulgarian (including Macedonian, which does not have the slightest trace of INF), in which an INF proper is lacking. Instead of this category a type of object sentence is used containing the

complementizer “that,” more precisely a special non-indicative (non-factive) “that” (according to others already reduced to a particle linking the former SUBJ to its governing verb (*verbum regens*) or auxiliary).

Greek *νά*, Bulgarian *da*, Albanian *të* and Rumanian *să* against indicative “that”,

Greek *πού/πώς/ότι*, Bulg. *če*, Alb. *se/që*, Ruman. *că* ³

This distinction in object sentences is strictly observed; in Greek:

(1) *μοῦ εἶπε, πώς (ὅτι) θά ρθει*

‘He told me that he will come.’

(The parallel form in Romani is *phendja mange kaj ka avel.*)

(2) *μοῦ εἶπε νά γράψω*

‘He told me to write/that I should write.’

(The Romani parallel is *phendja mange te ramosarav.*)

The same holds for the other Balkan languages.

The southern dialects of Romani adopted this distinction, provided there did not exist a similar or identical distinction as early as in pre-European times. They make use of the non-factive (non-indicative) *te* ‘that, if’, apparently an inherited element, and a factive (indicative) *kaj* ‘that’, originally ‘where’, or sometimes *sar*, originally ‘how’. In this Romani follows the model of Greek, which uses both *πού* ‘where’ and *πώς* ‘how’ (see Boretzky 1994a: 128 ff. for Kalderaš) with the function of ‘that’, *πού* being the more frequent.

(3) *λυποῦμε ποῦ (πώς) δέν τόν συνάντησα*

‘I regret that I didn’t meet him.’

In the following we will refer to *te* + short form of the present as SUBJ, although in most dialects the short form functions not only as a SUBJ, but as a present as well.

It should be noted that Romani did not arrive at a full structural identity with the Balkan languages, since the latter distinguish from non-factive ‘that’ a marked final ‘that, in order to’, the respective expressions being formed by the combination of ‘that’ with something like a preposition; see

Greek *γιά νά*, Bulg. *za da*, Alban. *që të*, Ruman. *ca să*

It was to be expected that in Greek and Balkan Slavic environment Romani dialects did not develop a “new” INF, simply because those languages had no model to offer for it. Other languages of the Balkan region—especially Serbian, but also Rumanian—do have an INF. It has to be stressed, however, that here the usage of INF is rather restricted. Although an established category of the Serbo-Croatian standard, the INF is continuously receding in the eastern and southeastern dialects. It can be replaced in nearly any case by constructions containing *da* ‘that’, e.g. after modal expressions or in the future construction. This is not true, however, for the Serbo-Croatian dialects of Bosnia. As for Rumanian, INF is used quite frequently,

but here too instead of the INF the SUBJ and other constructions are possible. Mayerthaler et al. (1993: 45) state that Rumanian is in remarkable contrast with other Romance languages in that it allows for INF (short form or INF proper) only after 'can', 'will', 'seem', after some prepositions, and finally in one variant of future. Most important, however, is that an INF is no longer compulsory in any case. Thus one may say

(4) *pot vine* (INF), but also

(5) *pot să vie* (SUBJ)

'He can come.'

Future *voi cânta* 'I will sing' with INF appears to be a firmly established form, but it is used in written texts rather than in spoken language; the latter prefers *am să cânt* or *o să cânt*, with SUBJ.

From this we can conclude that the speakers of Romani when coming into contact with speakers of the Balkan languages did not feel the need for creating an INF, since everything could be expressed with the aid of their inherited construction based on SUBJ.

3. The Occurrence of the "New" Infinitive in Romani

The situation is different in the countries outside the Balkan region. Here Romani came into contact with languages that cannot omit infinitival constructions, i.e., with Hungarian, the West Slavic and East Slavic languages, and Germanic languages. It is very likely that a precondition for the copying of the INF category was not only the existence of INF in the contact languages, but also a longer period of contact, for—as has been said before—not all dialects that were in contact with an INF language developed an INF. The Lovara and Kalderaša, who immigrated from a Rumanian-speaking to a Hungarian-speaking area, have no INF, presumably because their immigration took place much later than that of the speakers of the Central dialects. Still, Lovari texts from Hungary reveal that Hungarian INFs are not adapted to the normal patterns; i.e., they are not replaced by SUBJ constructions but are retained with their Hungarian INF morphology.⁴

(6) *haj gele-tar penge mendēgel-ni ande l veša*

'And they went to roam around in the forests' (Hajdu 1960: 96).

(7) *taj djal-tar vadās-ni ando vejš*

'And he went to hunt in the forest' (Valis 1968: 381).

We find such constructions in (Austrian) Burgenland Lovari as well, sometimes the Romani particle *te* being used together with the Hungarian INF.

(8) *gindisajli le gaveski čoxai hodj vouv (!) te žal andi svunto romaji papo te džou-ni kodo avri*

'The village witch intended to go to the Pope of Rome in order to confess.'

(9) *andakodo naštik džontat-i la*

'Therefore he cannot absolve her' (Knobloch 1953: 12, 14).

(Cf. Hungarian *gyon-ni* 'confess' and its causative *gyon-tat-ni* 'hear one's confession'.⁵)

What is more, some sentences found in the texts lead us to assume that the Romungro (Central dialect) INF, which is identical in form with the 3.P.PL., begins to spread to Lovari; see in Valis (1968):

(10) *ande muro čaro kin* (instead of *de* or *kide*) *mange te xan*

'Into my dish give me to eat/that I eat' (380).

(11) *thaj phenel la sakačinake hoj so si khote te xan, s(i) ande kodo čaro te šon les*

'And he told the cook to pour into that dish what there is (was) to eat' (ibid.).

The forms quoted in (11) are rather ambiguous as to their value; *te xan* may be understood as 'one eats/they eat', and *te šon* as 'they pour' as well. Perhaps it is from such constellations that a "new" INF is gaining ground.⁶ In another tale (Vekerdi 1966) we have two plain examples of INF (*te* + 3rdP.PL.):

(12) *te xan šaj dav tu*

'I can give you to eat,' and

(13) *kana raklja dasa les te xan*

'If we give him [the dragon] a girl to eat' (136).

An INF did not even arise in some regions where the Roma probably have been living for a long time in contact with INF languages. The dialects of Eastern Europe present a mixed picture. No INF can be found in the dialects of northern Russia (cf. Barannikov 1934: 2; in Ventcel' 1983 INF is not even mentioned). In contrast to this, INF is quite frequent in the Romani dialect of Moscow (cf. Sergievskij 1931: 61), but less frequent around Smolensk (cf. the texts of Dobrovol'skij 1908). Again, a dialect spoken in Latvia, but perhaps more influenced by Russian than by Latvian, does not show any traces of INF.⁷ INF is lacking in the dialects of Ukraine west of the Dnieper river (Barannikov 1934: 92f), which most probably underwent Vlax Gypsy influence, whereas east of the Dnieper and in southern Russia where Vlax influence is rather insignificant, cases of INF can be found. Judging from the material available (Vekerdi 1971), INF seems to be absent from the Gurvari dialect of Hungary, at least after governing *kam-el* 'want' and *džan-el* 'know (how to)', where verbs inflect for person. Apparently, Gurvari is a Central dialect heavily influenced by Vlax.

What is more astonishing, no INF emerged in some geographically marginal dialects, for instance in the dialect of Wales and in the dialects of Scandinavia

(especially of Finland), although much points to the fact that the ancestors of these groups lived for some time in Central Europe before arriving at their recent domiciles. For Wales, Sampson (1926: 364, under *te*) explicitly mentions this in distinction to continental dialects; see SUBJ in

(14) *džas te garavás 'men, xăč ĩ rāni. Gilě te garavén pen.* (1926: dictionary 102)

'Let us go and hide, exclaimed the lady. They went to hide.'

(15) *trašava me te dživā me dasa* (Sampson 1924, 2: 55)

'I am afraid to live with my mother.'

Sometimes we find constructions *ad sensum*, but in no case a generalized 3.P.SG., to be expected in the first place for INF, could be found.⁸

For Finnish Romani, Thesleff (1901) does not mention INF. This is corroborated by the texts of Valtonen (1967). A peculiarity of these dialects seems to be that the particle *te* can be omitted, but it cannot be said whether this has become a strict rule.

(16) *hast peska valpi byryvena Ø čellaven apo hispako gulva*

'Soon the puppies begin to play on the floor' (84).

Even if these dialects were only in brief contact with Hungarian, the West Slavic languages or German, it remains unclear why they did not acquire an INF later, from English or Swedish and Finnish respectively. For the dialect of Wales one might put forth the thesis that intensive contact with Welsh prevented Romani from developing INF (Welsh has no INF proper, but a verbal noun displaying a variety of functions and syntactic behavior). Since nothing is known about the character and the duration of the contact hardly anything can be said about a possible influence. However, Finnish Romani demonstrates through its numerous loan words that it has been in intensive contact with Swedish as well as Finnish.

According to Senzera (1986: 14) an INF is absent even from Piemontese Sinti, which is unexpected in view of the fact that other varieties of Sinti make abundant use of INF constructions. As for French Sinti and Manuš, the sources at hand (Jean 1970, Calvet et al. 1970, Barthélemy 1975, Rao 1976) offer no evidence, so nothing can be said about the existence of INF.

In summary we can state that the category of INF arose only in dialects that were under the influence of INF languages. However the contrary does not hold; not all dialects that were under the influence of INF languages developed an INF. Still, this is sufficient evidence for concluding that INF in Romani is a category which has come about via interference in all instances. The dispersion of INF crosses the boundaries of the Central dialect area, and the INF area is not coherent. The latter makes us believe that there was no center of radiation; rather, single dialects developed the INF category independently from one another, under the

immediate influence of the respective contact language. This assumption is corroborated by the distribution of INF functions across the dialects (see below).

Undoubtedly, interference was the first reason for forming an INF, but other factors may have supported this process. A certain role may have been played by impersonal constructions containing agents of the type "one" or "everybody" or "some." What is more, many European languages use the 3.P.PL. of the verb for conveying such contents, and in East Slavic languages the 2.P.SG. is very common even in written texts. See the following sentence from Ukraine:

(17) *te t'ine našči*

'One/you cannot buy anything' (Barannikov 1934: 126).

In this case, *te t'ine* must not be conceived of as INF, a literal interpretation as 'it is not possible that you buy (anything)' is possible too, but it may have been such instances that made it easier for the speakers to accept the new construction.

The rise of INF automatically restricted the domain of the non-factive object sentences, either optionally or obligatorily. Possibly the use of INF is not compulsory for certain constructions (cf. the details below), but for the majority of dialects and functions its use seems to be regulated rather strictly.

An interesting problem is whether other constructions than INF can substitute for "that"-clauses or not. Since this question has not been investigated systematically, we will draw attention here to one phenomenon only. In the Balkan languages we find independent "that"-clauses fulfilling a number of modal functions ("can, shall, should, will, want," etc.), where other languages need a governing verb or predicative expression.

(18) Greek *τί νά κάνω?*

(19) Rumanian *ce să fac?*, and similarly

(20) Romani *so te kerav?*,

which means 'What am I to do?', and

(21) *νά πάμε!*

(22) *să ne ducem!*

(23) *te džas!*,

with the meaning 'Let us go!'

A cursory inspection of Central and other dialect texts gives the impression that the constructions just mentioned did not disappear in the dialects that acquired a "new" INF, but that there is at least one construction competing with it, namely the future form ending in -a:

(24) *so me kerava?*

'What shall I do?/what am I to do?' (von Sowa 1887: 128)

(25) *so amen akana čore keraha?*

'What shall we poor people do?' (Kopernicki 1930: 3)

(26) *a me tut po duj gera lyžava*

'And me, with (only) two feet, am to carry you?' (Dobrovol'skij 1908: 7)

Also, conditional *te* can be replaced by temporal constructions + future form.

(27) *me kerava, sar mange o raj pokinela*

'I'll do it if you pay for it.'

(28) *sar mange n'aveja pale te phenel, ta tuke meriben phenava te kerel*

'If you don't return in order to tell it to me I'll have you killed' (Kopernicki 1930: 52, 54).

Possibly, sentence (27) is formed according to Polish *zrobię, jak* (literally 'how') *pan mnie zapłaci*. This is in full congruence with the modal character of future tense in European languages (and presumably elsewhere).

4. On the Forms of the Infinitive and Their Distribution

The INF forms of the European contact languages represent inherited morphology, as for instance Slavic *-ti* (*-t'*, *-t*) and Baltic *-ti* (*-t*), German *-en*, Hungarian *-ni*, or they are identical with an unmarked basic form of the verb as in English and in Geg Albanian; Rumanian INF ends in *-á* or *-eá* or *-e* or *-i*, according to the inflectional class. All these morphs have in common that they are not transparent semantically, they have no lexical meaning, and that means that they cannot be translated or morphologically imitated in some other way. When the Roma were going to create an INF, they had no model to follow, but were compelled to create a morphology of their own. As far as I know, two procedures have been applied, the first of them being of very restricted importance:

a) The Romani verbal noun in *-ipe(n)*, *-ibe(n)*, *-iba*, etc., which is present in all dialects, assumes INF functions in a few dialects. It occurs as an equivalent of West European INF in Arli and Bugurdži, most likely under the influence of Macedonian.

(29) Maced. *imam nešto za pienje*

German 'Ich habe etwas zu trinken (zum Trinken).'/ 'I have something to drink.'

(30) Bugurdži *kada pani nane pimnaske*

German 'Dieses Wasser ist nicht zu trinken (zum Trinken).'/ 'This water is not drinkable.'

I came across such constructions even in Sinti:

(31) *koles hi či phenepaske*

'He has nothing to say.'/ German 'Er hat nichts zu sagen.'

(32) *i čačo koter našepaske*

'A pretty distance to run'/ German 'Ein gutes Stück zu laufen'
(Holzinger 1993: 168).

Here, of course, the verbal noun must have acquired its new function under the influence of the German INF proper or a nominalized variety of it (*zum Trinken*, a PP of *das Trinken*). Constructions making use of the dative of the verbal noun are perhaps more widespread in Romani than is known to date since, to the best of my knowledge, nobody has tried to collect them. It is not even known if these constructions are older than the contact with European languages. At any rate, we can view them as a form competing with the "new" INF proper.

b) The point of departure for the Central and other dialects was the non-factive "that"-clause (object sentence), in which the semantic verb inflects for person and number, either in agreement with a governing verb or other element or independently of any governing element:

<i>type A</i>	<i>type B1</i>	<i>type B2</i>
kam-av te l-av	si te l-av	si ma te lav
kam-es te l-es	si te l-es	si tu te les
kam-el te l-el	si te l-el	si les te lel, etc.
'I want that I take.'	'It is that I take.'	'It is to me that I take.'
= 'I want to take.'	= 'I have to take.'	= 'I have to take.'

Now an INF is shaped by substituting a generalized "petrified" grammatical person for the inflected SUBJ after *te*. Most suitable for this re-interpretation of the personal form are constructions of the type A, because the sentence contains an element marking the grammatical person at any rate. Type B1 constructions can be utilized as well if no definite person is intended, as in "one must/can eat" or "it is necessary to eat" and similar. Even if the speaker wants to express a determinate person or other entity in a sentence which lacks a finite verb, he may do this by inserting a noun or pronoun in an oblique case (accusative, dative, locative; type B2). In this way the construction types given above can be transformed into INF constructions without losing the "personal" information, where intended.

<i>type A</i>	<i>type B1</i>	<i>type B2</i>
kam-av te lel, etc.	si te lel, etc.	si ma te lel, etc.
'I want to take.'	'One has to take.'	'I have to take.'

In most cases the 3rd P.SG. is chosen as a neutralized form, but 2nd P.SG. and 3rd P.PL. occur as well. These choices need an explanation, since language

contact explains only the coming into being of an INF as such, not its morphological shape. It is plausible that "that"-clauses provided an appropriate morphosyntactic basis for the "new" category because they are functionally very similar to INF, and can be equated with it in language contact. The reasons for the choice of different grammatical persons in different dialects are less clear, but partial explanations can be suggested. The 3rd P.SG. is widely regarded as the less marked form of the verbal paradigm, and it is this property that makes it the first candidate for becoming neutralized. The reason for the neutralization of the 2nd P.SG. and the 3rd P.SG. may be seen in the fact that these persons tend to be utilized with a generalized meaning in various languages ("one", "people," etc.).

Thus instead of *kamav te lav*, literally 'I want that I take' we find in dialects of Romani

- a) *kam-av te lel* or
- b) *kam-av te le* (< *l-es*) or
- c) *kam-av te len*,

where the semantic verb must be regarded as an INF.

Besides the forms listed above there is an INF ending in *-i*, but this *-i* can be proven to be a variant of the 3rd P.SG. morpheme occurring in a few dialects (see below).

The variants of the INF have the following distribution:

Type A, i.e., the original 3rd P.SG., occurs in Sinti (see Finck 1903 for Germany, Knobloch 1950 for Steiermark Sinti), in the dialect of Bohemia (see Puchmayr 1821, Ješina 1886), in the Central group (see von Sowa 1887 for Slovakia, Lípa 1965: 41 for the dialects of the Slovakian subgroup as well as for Slovakian Sinti; Miklosich 1878 for the dialect of the former Hungarian Carpathians; Vekerdi 1984 for the Vend dialect; and Knobloch 1953 for Liebing in Burgenland and other Burgenland varieties, Rozwadowski 1936 for southern Poland), in the Prekmurje dialect (Slovenia, Štrukelj 1980); only partially in dialects of central Russia (Dobrovol'skij 1908).

With the copula 'to be' *si* the suppletive form *avel*, originally 'to come', has been grammaticalized as INF. In Bohemia a reduced form *te jel* is in use.

The dialect of Dolensko in Slovenia, spoken by the so-called Croatian Gypsies, has an aberrant form in *-i*.⁹ Soravia (1978: 36, 50) quotes this form, but he does not express his views about the origin of the *-i* very clearly. On the one hand, in following Heinschink (1978: 18) he looks at it as being the descendant of an older INF; on the other hand he wants to link *-i* with *i* in the Slavic morpheme *-ti*; finally, he himself draws attention to the fact that, in some dialects, the 3rd P.SG. ends in *-i*. Of course, this is the solution to the problem: *-i* is the 3rd P.SG. once generalized in the process of INF evolution, i.e., we do not have to account for an old INF. The problem to be solved is to what form the personal marker *-i* goes back. Again, all

this speaks in favor of the view that the Romani dialects developed their INF under the immediate influence of the respective contact language. This view is also held by Lída (1965: 41).

The following samples taken from the Dolensko texts will prove that *-i* represents a 3rd P.SG.

(33) *nasvalo šasti phiravi*

'The sick one carries the sound one' (Strukelj 1980: 252).

(34) *onda šunene da džikon šingadi*

'Then they hear that somebody is shouting' (ibid.).

Evidence for INF:

(35) *džan ko kova kher ka bijava hile, džan bale čori*

'They go to the house where the wedding is, they go to steal pigs' (ibid.).

(36) *onda le začminde mari benge*

'Then they began to flog the devil' (ibid. 253).

Note that the particle *te* is absent.

Forms ending in *-i* are known from the Istrian Sinti (Soravia 1978: 37) as well as from the dialect of the Gopti.¹⁰ Here too *te* seems to be lacking throughout (Heinschink 1978: 17f); see for Gopti

(37) *džamo geni arke*

'Let us go to count (the) money.'

(38) *vešumno ālo lēdji so astilō*

'The hunter came to take away what had remained.'

The Istrian Sinti material is especially interesting because of a construction that has not been found elsewhere.

(39) *jou pe stavija vas hiki*

'He came nearer in order to look.'

That is, the INF is governed by the prep. *vas* 'for', much like *per* in Italian *per vedere*.

Type B, based on the 2nd P.SG., apparently occurs only in Ukraine east of the Dnieper river and in southern Russia, i.e., in dialects that despite a certain number of Rumanian loans do not belong to the Vlax dialects (Barannikov 1934: 92f); some examples:

(40) *na skamlja te le kadles graste*

'He didn't want to take this horse' (ibid. 112).

(41) *tunče one džil'e te pe jagal'i*

'Then they went to drink brandy' (ibid.).

(42) *i davaj me kote te džuve!*

'Well now I began to live there' (ibid. 116).

Type C, formed on the basis of the 3rd P.PL., is known from subdialects of Romungro exclusively (cf. Hancock 1990, who is referring to an average Romungro rather than to a specific dialect; Miklosich for Hungary [after von Sowa 1887]; according to Hübschmannová et al. 1991 in the dialects of Humenné and Michalovec, but not in Poprad, Prešov and Svidník—all in Slovakia; Lída 1963 for Humenné.) This form is also found in Banga 1993, a primer from Slovakia.

(43) *o jiv pe dinja te muktjaren*

'The snow began to melt' (48).

(44) *thodja pe te soven*

'He went to bed', lit. 'He put himself to sleep' (55).

(45) *nane man so te xan*

'I have nothing to eat' (64).

Although the three varieties of INF are morphologically identical with extant personal, final forms, they have to be regarded in this function as non-personal, since they are not in formal agreement with the subject of the final verb or a possible object. From this it follows that *te* has become an INF particle, which can no longer be translated by 'that, in order that', etc.

One might wonder how the speakers of the INF dialects proceed if they intend to express the person originally contained in the INF form in a heteroprosopic construction (see below), for instance in 'I want him to take (that he take)' or 'I want you to take' or 'I want them to take'. It is clear that in the dialects that have generalized the 3rd P.PL. a sentence like *kamav te len* is ambiguous as to its meaning, since it may mean both 'I want to take' (co-reference) and 'I want them to take' (different reference). To be sure, as soon as an explicit subject is present, homonymy can be avoided:

(46) *kamav te aven von/o manuša*

'I want them/the people to come.'

But again, the same sentence without an object can be clarified only by context.

For the time being, we have no information about how the speakers normally overcome this ambiguity.

5. General Remarks on the Functions of Infinitives

It is highly probable that the INF of the individual Romani dialects does not have an identical set of functions, the reason being, in all likelihood, that the contact languages do not behave identically. Generally, we should be aware of the fact that there is no universally homogeneous category INF; rather, a number of languages have created infinite (nominalized) forms of verbs, which often share many functions or at least one prototypical function in common and are therefore identified as INF.

Irrespective of this determining factor we want to list below all the functions met with in any of the dialects. It should be said at the outset, however, that the material at hand is not sufficient to establish what usages do exist. If a given construction cannot be found in the dialect under examination, this does not mean that it is not permitted.

The classification of the material poses great problems. There should be available a universally applicable scheme in which to place all the phenomena found in Romani. Regrettably enough, such a scheme is not provided for by linguistics, since it is by no means clear what has to be subsumed under INF in the languages of the world; also, the investigations made so far derive from individual languages or language groups, for which certain cases are not relevant. Moreover, often only one or a few parameters are taken into account. An example of the first type is Mayerthaler et al. (1993), whose matrix does not only lack such important governing verbs as 'learn', 'be afraid', but does not even mention whole categories of constructions, as for instance the verb-topicalizing "tautological" INFs of the Slavic languages; for example in Czech:

(47) *jíst, to jím*, roughly

'I do eat'; literally 'To eat I eat' (equivalent to German 'Essen tu ich').

The question is whether to categorize INF constructions according to formal-syntactic or to functional-semantic criteria in the first place. At a first look a formal classification has its advantages, since it is easier to establish and to check. Here the following factors might be taken into account: a) the presence or absence of certain elements, as for instance an INF particle; b) the ordering of the constituents (among others the splitting up of the verb constituents); c) the possibility of focusing (extraposition) of INF.

These formal regulations can be observed directly or elicited by tests, and sometimes they can be used for comparing languages of more or less homogeneous structures. Where the structures do not allow for contrastive constructions, i.e., where only one construction is possible for each case, they are less useful. A distinction highly relevant for some languages may be totally irrelevant for others. Whereas for German it is important whether the particle *zu* 'to' has to be applied or not, since by (*um*) *zu* in opposition to \emptyset different functional aspects may be marked, in other languages as Geg Albanian the particle *me* cannot be omitted, and in Slavic languages there is no particle at all with normal infinitives. In the overwhelming majority of the Romani dialects the INF particle *te* cannot be omitted, and even in the dialects where it is not compulsory, its use does not appear to be contrastive to \emptyset , although varieties of Sinti may make an exception (see 6.5.).

Or take word order in French with causative and permissive constructions. In French *faire* + INF form a syntactic unity that cannot be split up by clitics, whereas *laisser* + INF must be separated by pronouns.

(48) *il nous la fait écrire*, but

(49) *il nous laisse la prendre* (from Mayerthaler et al. 1993: 133f.).

German, however, does not make such a difference.

(50) *er macht/läßt mich verzweifeln*

'He makes me despair,' and

(51) *er läßt ihn holen*

'He sends for him' (with causative *lassen*),

and with the same syntactic ordering

(52) *sie ließen ihn flüchten*

'They let him escape' (with permissive *lassen*).

From this we can conclude that in French, the semantic difference is marked syntactically, and that the degree of grammaticalization with 'make' is stronger than with 'let', whereas in German both constructions are grammaticalized to an equal degree. To the best of my knowledge, no such distinctions occur in Romani.

Another problem is posed by optional rules; I want to illustrate this here by means of object or, more generally, complement order in INF constructions.

(53) English: *I go to look for my brother* (O/Compl. only after INF).

(54) Romani: *džav te rodel mre phrales* or

džav mre phrales te rodel (O inserted or after INF).

(55) German: *ich gehe meinen Bruder suchen* (O only inserted).

Again, the difference made in Romani has to do with focusing and the like; it does not lend itself to classifying functions of INF.

The same holds for extraposing INF. It is extremely rare in Romani, and in the few instances it does occur (identification constructions, see below 6.1.1.), it seems to be elicited artificially rather than used in a normal way. Overall, then, we can state that the three criteria given above are of little import. This makes it necessary to look for other criteria.

The following criteria, which combine syntactic and semantic aspects, appear to be more appropriate for classifying INF:

i) Is the INF phrase the subject or direct object or another complement of the sentence? This criterion has both syntactic and functional aspects, since the choice of the syntactic role is largely determined by the semantic and pragmatic role to be expressed.

ii) Are governing verb and INF phrase coreferent or not? This question, too, has a functional-semantic aspect, since it is asked whether the agents of both verbs are identical (coreferent or tautoprosopic) or different (not coreferent or heteroprosopic). As for surface syntax, both cases are identical;

(56) *I went to ask him* (tautoprosopic), against

(57) *I sent to ask him* (heteroprosopic in the sense 'I caused someone to ask him').

iii) Are governing verb and INF phrase coherent, that is, do they form one phrase or is the INF phrase a clause of its own? Again, this is not only a question of surface syntax. The notion of coherence was introduced by Bech (1955: 60ff) who apparently conceived of coherence as the nearness of *verbum regens* and INF; cf. in German, where sometimes more or less semantically identical sentences may have different word order:

(58) *er wagte nicht, seine Hand zu heben* (incoherent, two clauses), against

(59) *er wagte seine Hand nicht zu heben* (coherent, object bracketing)

'He didn't dare to raise his hand.'

In this interpretation the notion appears to belong to the area of syntax exclusively, whereas in Mayerthaler et al. (1993) the notion comprises semantic aspects too. The question arises concerning the degree to which governing verb and INF cohere as to their content and maybe even referentially. A solution is provided for the single cases by tests for instance the possibility of INF extraposition, of substituting a finite sentence for INF, etc. Sometimes even diachrony may give a hint. In the present paper, we want to refer to coherence in the following way. It will be asked whether the two constituents, *regens* and INF, represent one action or two, and if the latter holds, whether there is a temporal succession of actions or rather an intertwining of basic action and an action modifying it. See the following order, roughly with decreasing coherence:

(a) modal verb + INF, as in *he can write*: one (potential) action;

(b) phase verb + INF, as in *he began to write*: one action;

(c) impersonal expression + INF, as in *it is important (for him) to write*: evaluation of an action;

(d) verb of attitude + INF, as in *he hoped to write*: attitude taken towards an action;

(e) manipulative verb + INF, as in *he persuaded him to write*: causation of an action;

(f) verb of sensory perception, as in *I see him write*: perception of an action from outside— rather two actions than one;

(g) motion verb + INF, as in *he goes to write* or *he goes to his room to write*: two actions. In the first case the speaker's intention seems to be to stress the succession of actions, whereas in the second case the final relation is marked, although both sentences can be interpreted in both ways.

As we know from languages like Latin or Portuguese, INF may inflect for voice, tense, or even person (the latter in Portuguese). For Romani, only voice is relevant.

Another problem is where the negation can or must be placed in the sentence. In English, for instance, the sense of the sentence essentially depends on where the negation is placed; cf.

(60) *I didn't cause him to come*, as opposed to

(61) *I caused him not to come*,

and less perceivable in German:

(62) *Ich veranlaßte ihn nicht, zu kommen*, as opposed to

(63) *Ich veranlaßte ihn, nicht zu kommen*.

Distinctions like these are rather irrelevant for Romani; at least I was not able to find a construction of the second type (negated INF), excepting the following example, apparently an elicited translation from German or Czech:

(64) *te vakerel hi rup, te na vakerel—somnakaj*

lit. 'To talk is silver, not to talk is gold.'

In another sentence, INF is negated by 'nothing':

(65) *hat akor ovla ništa te počinel miste o siklibe*

'Now then there will be nothing to be paid (lit. to pay) for the teaching'

(Knobloch 1953: 30; Burgenland).

Still, such constructions cannot be looked at as running counter to the "potential" structures of Romani.

The classification of INF constructions applied here follows practical needs.

It accounts for

(i) the status of the INF phrase (subject/object/predicative/complement), and

(ii) the degree of coherence of the whole construction.

Tauto-/heteroprosopy, doubtlessly an important factor, is mentioned with the various constructions, but it does not determine classification. Also, the category INF governed by prepositions can be disregarded, since there are no such cases in Romani, excepting one phenomenon in Istrian Sinti (see Soravia 1978: 48, 37):

(66) *vas džal* 'in order to go,' and

(67) *jou pe stavfja vas hiki*

'He approached in order to see;' in Italian 'Egli si avvicinò per vedere.'

As mentioned above, this construction with *vas* 'because of, for' has come about under the influence of Italian *per* + INF (or dialectal Croatian *za* + INF).

It has to be pointed out that there are other constructions not yet integrated in the above scheme, but which will have to be taken into account, since they occur in some Romani dialects (see section 6.3.).

6. The Functions of the Infinitive in Romani

In the following sections I want to differentiate in the greatest possible detail INF usage after the various governing expressions.¹¹ The Romani "new" INF is rather simple in that it does not distinguish, as does German, for example, lexicalized infinitives such as (*das*) *Leben* 'life', verbal nouns like *das Arbeiten*

'working' and *zum Arbeiten* 'for working', PPs like *zu arbeiten*, and simple INF like *arbeiten*, both '(to) work'. The first two categories are normally expressed by the verbal noun in *-ipe*, for the rest nothing more is available on the expression side than the mere "new" construction. Loss of *te* is relatively rare and, what is more important, where it occurs it is not in functional contrast with constructions containing *te*.

A temporal contrast as in Latin *amavisse* as opposed to *amare* or in English *to have loved* and *to love* does not exist, but as to voice an active form can be distinguished from an (at least formal) passive and a (formal) reflexive, although the latter are hardly met with even in written texts. The rareness of passive INF explains itself readily by the rareness of a real, semantic present passive in general, but for the very low frequency of the reflexive INF I have no straightforward explanation, since the formal reflexive is frequent in Romani. Let us consider the few examples I was able to find.

Infinitive of the Passive Form

Strictly speaking, there are no functional passives since, in the instances in question, the surface passive forms stand for intransitives or reflexives.

(68) *me les kamav te mukav te terdjol*, lit.

'I want that I let him stand,' *terdjol* being an intransitive (Ješina 1886: 54).

There is even one transitive verb of passive form (the only instance found in Romani):

(69) *te kames te sikljon romanes...*

'If you want to learn Romani ...' (Lípa 1963: 112).

There is no structural reason why INF from deadjectival passives like *te barjol* 'become big, grow' or *te šukljon* 'dry' should be excluded, but in fact I did not find any. It is questionable, however, if INF from functional passives like **daral te mardjon* 'he is afraid of being thrashed' would ever be used or even accepted by the speakers.

Infinitive of the Reflexive Form

It should be noted that, in the majority of Romani dialects, the reflexive pronoun inflects for person and number as in English or German, and not as in Slavic languages where only one neutralized form exists. This is the case even in Romani dialects spoken in a Slavic environment.

(70) *tu na džanes kaj tut te thovel*

'You don't know where to lie down' (Rozwadowski 1936: 82; Southern Poland).

(71) *dža tut te moren*

'Go to shave yourself!' (Lípa 1963: 31; Slovakia).

(72) *sal tu tud te murdarel, ta me tuke phenava ...*

'If you were to kill yourself, then I would like to tell you...' (Kopernicki 1930: 14).

In the East Slavic region, however, where some intransitive verbs take reflexive form according to the Russian or Ukrainian model, the 3rd P. of the reflexive pronoun can be generalized.

(73) *ačxiljom te timosare-pe*

'I began to bargain' (Barannikov 1934: 112).

Here *te timosare-pe* is shaped after Russian *torgovať sja* 'bargain', as opposed to *torgovať* 'trade'.

It is not unlikely, then, that the new category first established itself in the least-marked diathetic (genus verbi) category, the active, and is spreading now to the next category on the markedness scale, the reflexive (with periphrastic structure!), but has not yet reached the passive. This is the course grammaticalization very often takes (cf. the spread of progressive in English, which first arose in the present active, i.e., *he is taking* earlier than *he has been taking* or *he is being taken*). It has to be emphasized, however, that in some cases grammaticalization did start from a highly marked category.

6.1. Infinitives as Subjects, and Similar Constructions

Such constructions are rather impersonal than personal, the person in question not being named or simply not existing. Inflected verbs as for instance Latin *videor* 'I seem to ...' in place of impersonal *videtur* 'it seems to ...' are not found in Romani, perhaps with the exception of *pe kamav* 'I must', etc. instead of the more frequent impersonal *kamel pe/kampel* 'one must', *pe kamav*, *pe kam-es*, etc. seems to have been reshaped from *kamel pe* according to the Czech model *musím*, *musíš*, etc. 'must' (see. below 6.2.1.3., [122] ff).

6.1.1. Infinitives as Subjects

(74) *te kerel hi feder meg te čorel*

lit. 'To work is better than to steal.'

(75) *te vakerel hi rup, te na vakerel somnakaj*

'To talk is silver, not to talk is gold.'

The constituent following INF is a predicate being identified with the INF content, i.e., the construction should be equated with English *talking is good* rather than with *it is good to talk*. Constructions like these are known only from Bohemia (Ješina 1886); they were probably translated from Czech or German, but might be acceptable, however.

6.1.2. Subject Sentences after Impersonal Expressions

Here too the 'governing' element, consisting of the copula and an evaluating verb, has predicate character, but contrary to the cases quoted above it precedes the INF complex:

(76) *feder godjavele manušeha le bařen te anel, meg mižexeha e mol te pijel*
'It is better to carry stones with a good person, than to drink wine with a bad one.'

(77) *nane lačhes mižexeske te patjal*
'It isn't good to believe a bad person.'

Again, these examples are taken from Ješina, but they seem to be less artificial than those quoted under 6.1.1., at least syntactically. The reason for the impersonal expression preceding the INF phrase appears to be that the INF phrase provides the comment, the new information; more decisive, perhaps, is that the INF phrase is expanded, contains more than one complement, and therefore does not lend itself to the initial position.

Although in texts of other dialects constructions like these do not occur, they may be acceptable for most of the dialects, at least to a higher degree than the ones quoted under 6.1.1.

Another group is formed by INF governed by impersonal modal expressions as 'it is necessary', 'it is possible' etc. as opposed to the semantically equivalent inflected modal verbs.

(78) *si man te džal*
'I must go,' lit. 'To me it is to go' (a quite rare construction).

(79) *mand'i trebunja grasten te bi'ine*
'It is necessary for me to buy horses' (Dobrovol'skij 1908: 114).

For practical reasons, we will consider these cases together with the modal verbs, although the syntactic roles of INF are different in the two constructions.

6.1.3. The Infinitive after Expressions of Existence

Here, it is difficult to determine whether the INF is subject or some kind of complement.

(80) *txire nenaj niso byjatond'i ty xa*

'At home there was nothing to eat for the children' (Barannikov 1934: 125).

In this sentence, *niso* might be considered the subject, whereas *ty xa* might be an attribute of it.

(81) *nasys e čhavoreng te xal*

lit. 'There wasn't for the children to eat'

Since here there is no head for the INF, INF itself remains the only candidate for subject.

(82) *gamyco na sys te des andre*

'There was no collar to harness [sc. the horse]' (Dobrovol'skij 1908: 23).

6.2. Infinitives as Other Complements

This section is about INF after transitive and intransitive verbs. If the regens is a transitive verb, the subject or agent of the INF phrase may be identical with that of the governing clause or not (for the problem of coreference or tautoprosopy cf. above). In what follows we will not consider the role of INF in detail, since this can readily be recognized from the overall sentence structure. Rather, the classification is based on the classes of governing verbs. Many of the INF phrases take the place of direct objects (with transitive verbs), others function as a variety of complements.

In a text from eastern Ukraine INF follows a temporal expression:

(83) *alo vže vrjama ty xa byjatond'i*

'The time had come for the children to eat' (Barannikov 1934: 125).

Depending on how the semantic relations between the two constituents are interpreted, INF takes the role of a genitive ('time of eating') or a dative ('time for eating'), i.e., relations are less than clear in some cases.

Another distinction has to be made with regard to the extent of the INF phrase; it may consist of the bare INF forming a close unity with the governing verb, leading in extreme cases to the reduction of the governing verb to an uninflected particle. In these cases, setting up an independent INF clause would not be justified. It has to be emphasized here, however, that the governing element must not be without personal inflection, if it is essential to know the person in question. Whereas in "that"-clauses a morphological reduction of the verbum regens would not do any harm, it is impossible with INF constructions; cf. inflected *kam-av te d-av*, *kam-es te d-es* etc. > *kam-dav*, *kam-des*, etc. as opposed to *kam-av te del* (INF), where **kam te del* would not do.

If the INF phrase is expanded, the INF takes objects and complements like a finite verb in accordance with the verb valencies. It should be examined if the

number of complements has a bearing on the coherence between governing verb and INF.

6.2.1. Infinitives after Modal Verbs and Other Modal Expressions

We are dealing here with the equivalents of English 'can', 'must', and 'want', and their semantic nuances. The agents of modal element and INF are coreferent throughout, since there are no Acl-constructions as in English *I want him to go*. In this detail, too, Romani is in congruence with the languages of Eastern and South Eastern Europe, but not with German and Czech, where some Acl constructions occur.

6.2.1.1. Infinitives after "will, want, wish, would like"

Romani has a verb *kam-el*, originally 'love, like', inflected for person and preserved in nearly all dialects. Only in some dialects of the South Balkan it has been replaced by *mang-el*, originally 'demand, ask for, beg', but since these do not belong to the INF dialects, they can be disregarded here. Some examples from various dialects:

(84) *me kamava khere te džal*

'I want to go home' (Finck 1903: 9; German Sinti).

(85) *pametines tu, sar man tu tritona hodzínake te oviesinel kamljal?*

'Do you remember how you wanted to hang me at the third hour?'
(Kopernicki 1930:10; southern Poland).

(86) *akor gamāhi dureder te siklol*

'Then I wanted to continue learning' (Knobloch 1953: 30; Austrian Burgenland).

(87) *kamen man te marel*

'You (PL.) want to flog me' (Rozwadowski 1936: 82; southern Poland).

Presumably, this verb is construed in the way demonstrated above in most dialects displaying an INF. Therefore it is astonishing that in Bohemia and perhaps partially in Slovakia *kam-el* is recorded to combine only with "that"-clauses, as in the conservative dialects of the South.

(88) *kamav te džav, kames te džas*, etc.

'I want that I go, you want that you go', etc.

This rule is given as early as in Puchmayr (1821: 18f.), and it is confirmed in Ješina (1886: 54):

(89) *me les kamav te mukav te terdjol*

'I want that I let him stand.'

To be sure, Ješina is less than reliable, but similar rules are given in other descriptions. According to von Sowa (1887: 134) this rule holds even for Slovakia.

(90) *kamen džaha*

'Sie wollen gehen.'

As can easily be seen, this example is full of mistakes (3rd P.PL. combined with a 1st P.PL., lack of *te*). Since the texts published in von Sowa do not have such constructions, it must remain open what the actual usage was/is like in the sub-dialects von Sowa referred to.

More recent sources do not support the claim that after *kam-el* SUBJ would have to be used. See the 3rd P.PL. as INF in texts from East Slovakia:

(91) *ko but kamel te xan, ta nigda na čaljola*

'Who likes to eat much, will never be sated' (Lípa 1963: 140).

(92) *te kames fasulja te taven...*

'If you want to cook beans...' (ibid. 32).

In Hübschmannová et al. (1991) with the 3rd P.SG.:

(93) *na džanen, sar kamen te dživel*

'They do not know how to live/they should (sic!) live.'

(94) *so kamav te kerel?*

'What shall/can I do?'

In Kopernicki (southern Poland) *kam-el* is normally followed by INF, in this dialect identical in form with the 3rd P.SG., but one example indicates that the rule is not applied consistently.

(95) *kamen man te murdaren* (3rd P.PL.)

'They want to kill me' (1930, 40).

In the dialects described by Barannikov (1934) there are finite constructions too; for instance:

(96) *palo rom me kamau te vydžau* (120)

'I want to marry,' lit. 'I want to go after the man' (as in Russian: *ja xoču vyjti замуž*).

But INF constructions are not excluded:

(97) *byjaturja ty xa kamen*

'The children want to eat' (ibid. 125).

According to Ješina (1886: 54) INF is possible only if the governing verb is not in the present.

(98) *džav te sovav*

'I go to sleep' (after pres. *džav*), but

(99) *džava te sovel*

'I'll go to sleep' (after fut. *džava*).

Ješina does not make clear if this rule holds for *kam-el* as well. However this may be, we cannot confirm if the data given in Ješina and von Sowa are correct, but

there is a possibility that INF has been gaining ground in Slovakia and Bohemia since the end of the last century. This view is corroborated by the fact that even in recent Sinti varieties both alternatives are used. According to Holzinger (1993: 106) both can be found:

(100) *me kamau te džap khere*, and

(101) *me kamau te džal khere/ khere te džal*

‘I want to go home.’

From ‘want’ a variant ‘would like, would have liked’ (no good equivalent in English available) is formed by using the impersonal reflexive form of *kam-el*.

(102) *kamljas pes lenge te pijel*

‘He would have liked to drink’ (Ješina 1886: 141).

Since the verb is in the reflexive, the INF phrase assumes the subject role.

As mentioned above, an AcI construction is not possible; in its place a “that”-clause is used.

(103) *mro dat kamlahi hot me mesteri te sikloaf*, lit.

‘My father wanted that I learn a trade’ (Knobloch 1953: 30; Austrian Burgenland).

It has to be emphasized that the reflexive of *kam-el* and in some dialects even the bare active form appears with the meaning ‘must, should’ (see above [93] and [94] and Boretzky 1994b, 1996).

6.2.1.2. Infinitives after “can, be able; know (how to)”

a) For expressing an actual possibility Romani uses the impersonal forms *šaj* ‘can’ and *našti (te)* ‘cannot’, preserved in the overwhelming majority of the dialects; in Sinti, some new forms have arisen (see Finck 1903: 16, and Holzinger 1993: 92 ff). It is self-evident that an INF cannot occur after these elements if the speaker wants to express a determined grammatical person; therefore the personal forms are compulsory in the following examples:

(104) *šaj xas* ‘You can/may eat,’ and

(105) *akana našti te xas*

‘You cannot eat now.’

An INF is conceivable only in cases where no special person is intended or where *šaj* is accompanied by an object marking the person. I have never come across, however, constructions like **šaj te xal* ‘one can eat/it can be eaten’ or **šaj mange te xal* ‘it is possible for me to eat’. Of course, the situation is different for dialects that have transformed *šaj* and *našti* into finite verbs or that have borrowed finite verbs from contact languages. In Kalderaš, *daštiv*, *daštis*, *daštil*, etc. have arisen, apparently shaped after *našti*, which in turn was changed into *naštiv*, *naštis*, *naštil*, etc. Where impersonal *možna* ‘it is possible’ has been borrowed from Slavic,

it would be impossible to construct it with an INF, unless it is transformed into a finite *možin-el* or similar. To date, I have not been able to find such forms in INF dialects.

b) For 'know how to, have a capability' a finite verb was available from the beginning. It is *džan-el*, originally 'know', which in all likelihood took on this function in copying the Greek (Balkan) model. Examples for the INF after *džan-el*:

(106) *na džanen tumen kaša te tāl*

'You don't know how to cook porridge' (Vekardi 1984: 77; Vend dialect).

(107) *na džanlahi (sic!) te užaren mek len e phuri daj avri lela*

'They couldn't wait until Grandmother took them out' (Banga 1993: 55).

(108) *džanes te bašaven bes notengero?*

'Can you play music without notes?' (Lípa 1963: 30).

In German Sinti, instead of *džan-el* a verb *haje-* 'understand' is used; here the particle *te* is lost regularly:

(109) *ko hajevas gar baševel*

'He didn't know how to play music' (Holzinger 1963: 169).

Another *džan-el* 'know' must be distinguished from *džan-el* 'know how to'. It is followed, as in many other languages, by an indirect interrogative sentence which may contain an independent INF:

(110) *me na džanaf so akana te kerel*

'I don't know what to do now' (Rozwadowski 1936: 76).

Along with these modals known cross-dialectally there are loan elements tending to become modals. Apparently, they need not have the same meaning as in the source languages—an indicator of internal grammaticalization in Romani¹²; *na-hodno* < slovak. (*ne*) *hodný*, adv. *hodne* 'worth, worthy, appropriate' in

(111) *ov phuro manuš nahodno aver buti te keren*

'This old man isn't able/suited to do another job' (Lípa 1963: 39).

The element *sabadno* has been borrowed from Hungarian *szabad* 'free', but also 'able':

(112) *leske na sabadno te keren hartiko buti*

'He isn't able to do a blacksmith's work' (ibid.).

Both elements are functionally nearer to *džan-el* than to *šaj. Možna*, from Ukrainian:

(113) *xyba otkadja muršeha mo(ž)na kadja te džuve?*

'Is it possible to live with a man in this way?' (Barannikov 1934: 121).

6.2.1.3. Infinitives after “must, is to, has to; must not”

For these contents Romani uses impersonal expressions rather than finite verbs. We therefore expect the main verb to preserve its personal inflection, unless there are no other possibilities to mark grammatical person.

a) First, inherited *si te* followed by an inflected verb is found:

(114) *si te džas ando foro*

‘You have to go to the town.’

As explained above, *si te* can be construed together with an INF if a pronoun or noun in an oblique case (accusative, dative) is added; here INF takes the function of a subject:

(115) *mange hi but te kerel*, lit. ‘To me there is much to do’;

‘I have much to do’ (Ješina 1886: 131).

The agent may even appear in the nominative.

(116) *sako murš* (instead of *sakone muršes*) *si te ande rukolinen*

‘Every man has to enter the forces’ (Knobloch 1953: 46; Liebing).

If the sentence is semantically impersonal, mere *si te* is sufficient:

(117) *har hi te kerel o klidi?*

‘How is the key to be made?’ (von Sowa 1887: 134).

In the future tense, *si te* is replaced by *ovel te* (*ovla te*) or *avel te*:

(118) *hat akor ovla ništa te počinel miste o siklibe*

‘Now then nothing will have to be paid for the teaching (Knobloch 1953: 30; Burgenland).

It should be noted that even in the West Slavic languages and in dialectal German ‘has to be made’ is used without indicating the agent; cf. Slovak

(119) *neviem, ako to urobiť*

‘I don’t know how to do this.’

b) Another modal element has come about by reshaping the reflexive *kam-elpes*, ‘it is necessary, one must’ (not literally translatable into English). Along with an impersonal, only syntactically changed, *pe kamel* the Central dialects have *kam-pe-l* and the more reduced *pe-ka-l*, which in turn can again be transformed into finite verbs. Even unchanged active *kam-el* ‘want’ occurs with the meaning of necessity (see.[94]), comparable to English *want* in some constructions..

Examples:

(120) *kampel Ø džal vaš oja čing’i*

‘It is necessary to go to that Jewess’ (Kopernicki 1930: 46).

(121) *le čhavoreng na kampel love te del*

‘One shouldn’t give money to (the) children’ (Hübschmannová et al. 1991).

These sentences lack any expression of agent.

(122) *ha me na pe-kamav buti te kerel*

'And I need not work (any longer)' (Knobloch 1953: 42; Liebing).

(123) *na pekajs man ni te hal ni tel pekel*

'I didn't have to bake nor to eat' (Vekerdi 1984: 78).

(124) *so kamav te kerel?*

'What shall I do?' (not: 'What do I want to do?')

(125) *kamehas te dikhel lengo kher!*

'You should have seen their house!' (both in Hübschmannová et al. 1991).

The same meaning of inflected *kam-av* seems to be possible in east-Ukrainian dialects:

(126) *skaci me kamau te de?*

'How much am I to give?' (Barannikov 1934: 114).

c) As a rule, loan elements are combined with a finite verb; this holds for derivations of Slavic *treba* and Rumanian *trebuie*, for *musi/mosi* < Czech *muset*. Insofar as an agent is added, INF is permitted even here.

(127) *o čave žana, i mange trebi te žal*

'The children will go, and I have to go too' (Dobrovol'skij 1908: 62).

The following sentence is peculiar in that one of the verbs following the impersonal expression is an INF, whereas the other inflects for person:

(128) *trebi te žal (INF) k' odo raj te pleskirau (1st P.SG.) palo maro*

'I must go to this master to pay for the bread' (ibid. 18).

If a finite verb is formed from a loan element, as for instance *musin-el*, it requires the INF anyway:

(129) *akana musines amenge trin otazki avri te phenel*

'Now you must answer us three questions' (Romano Džaniben 2/94: 42).

(130) *na musinel bokhatar te daran*

'He musn't be afraid of (starving of) hunger'.

(131) *musinaha te džan adari*

'We must leave this place' (Lípa 1963: 38f.).

Where Serbo-Croatian *morati* 'must' is adapted as an inflected verb it is, as expected, followed by an INF as well; see in Istrian Sinti

(132) *murinu džal*

'I must go' (Soravia 1978: 48).

In summarizing what has been said above, we can state that INFs are possible after all modal expressions, insofar as these are finite; if they are infinite or impersonal expressions, they can be followed by an INF if only the sentence in

question contains a personal expression. If however the speaker aims at making a general statement, an INF is possible even after infinite expressions without any reference to a grammatical person. The only exception known to me is *kam-el* (cf. above).

6.2.2. Infinitives after Phase Verbs

By phase verbs, we understand verbs that mark the different phases in the course of an action/event, i.e., verbs as 'begin', 'stop, end', 'finish', further 'continue' and 'interrupt'. This category is only weakly developed in Romani.

a) What we find in Romani are variants of 'begin'. First are verbs apparently inherited or developed language-internally, derived from *l-el* 'take' and semantically related verbs, which acquired the meaning 'going to' or 'be about to' rather than neutral 'begin'. Second, there are loan elements of different grammatical status and meaning. The following sentence contains a loan verb from German:

(133) *unt koj fangras holt an ti kerel*

'And there we began to cook' (Knobloch 1950: 233; Steiermark Sinti).

The next example is with a Hungarian loan:

(134) *taj gezdinja o raklo ole kirajiha te vakierel*

'And the boy began to talk to the king' (Knobloch 1953: 50; Liebing).

With *začin-el* < Czech *začít/začínat* 'begin':

(135) *avka začindam te roven*

'Thus we began to cry' (Lípa 1963: 39).

The following verb, too, should be of Slavic origin, although I am not able for the moment to identify the actual source:

(136) *zajdzinde te vakerel*

'They began (set out) to tell' (Kopernicki 1930: 43).

Among the inherited elements *l-el* 'take' is used most frequently with the meanings discussed here. In the conservative non-INF dialects it can be constructed not only with SUBJ, but also paratactically with 'and' plus finite verb, i.e., *l-el te ker-el* and *l-el thaj ker-el*. Of those two only the first variant qualified to becoming an INF construction. Some examples:

(137) *lav te plašinel*

'I set out to beat' (Rozwadowski 1936: 77).¹³

Another verb to be used with this function is *astarel (pe)* 'grasp, seize, catch':

(138) *astardja pe sigeder le te ciden*

'He began to draw him more quickly' (Banga 1993: 62).

Moreover, reflexive *d-el pe*, literally 'give himself' is used for 'begin'.

(139) *o jiv dinja pe te muktjaren*

'The snow began to melt' (Banga 1993: 48).

and with the active form

(140) *o gadže dyne te rovel*

'The men began to cry' (Kopernicki 1930: 21).

In the Ukrainian region *ačh-el*, originally 'remain', is found, which is a rather unexpected development since from the original meaning a semantic change to 'stop' would be more plausible.

(141) *ačhiljom te dedume*

'I began to talk' (Barannikov 1934: 112).

This use of *ačh-el* must be more widespread, for it is documented in Hübschmannová et al. (1991)¹⁴ as well:

(142) *ačhile dujdžene te dživel*

'They began (both) to live together.'

b) There is no indigenous element for 'stop, finish' etc., but even loans are very rare: I was not able to find more than one example in the texts.

(143) *te man preačhola te dukhan o šero, džava tumenca pre zabava*

'If my head stops aching, I will go with you to the festivity' (Lípa 1963: 33),

where the meaning 'stop' has been derived from *ačh-el*, here in all likelihood 'turn to, begin', plus the Slavic prefix *pre*, modelled after Slavic (Slovakian) *pre-stat*. The existence of this verb is corroborated by Hübschmannová et al. (1991).

c) Similarly, there is no general expression for 'continue (to do something)' in Romani, but this does not come as a surprise in view of the fact that such constructions did not reach a considerable degree of grammaticalization in most of the European languages. It is only in Hübschmannová et al. (1991) that for *ačh-el* this translation is given along with others better known. The new meaning is readily understood if we interpret the basic meaning 'remain' as 'remain with an action'; cf.

(144) *ačhenas te khelel*

'They continued to dance.'

It is questionable, however, if there exists in this dialect a standardized category for 'continue to do'.

6.2.3. Infinitives after Verbs of Sentiment and Attitude

Under this heading we subsume those verbs that render the emotional attitude of the speaker towards an action performed by himself or by others. Provisionally we refer to the following verbs: 'be afraid of, shrink from, be pleased, believe, hope'. Somewhat different is 'dare', since it comes close to a modal verb by assuming the meaning 'be allowed to' and neg. 'must not' (in German 'dürfen').

In Romani, only a few verbs fulfill this function, the number of constructions being quite low. Only two of them are inherited elements, namely *daral/trašal* 'be afraid of' and *pačal* 'believe, trust', and the Greek loan *tromal* 'dare', secondarily 'be allowed to'.¹⁵ A verb *lošandjol* or *lošanel pes* occurs in some dialects, but even where it is in use it is rarely construed with an INF.

Some examples for this class of verbs:

(145) *na daraha tu korkoro prekal o veš te džan?*

'Aren't you afraid of roaming in the forest?' (Lípa 1963: 33).

(146) *me ma džungljav te xan k' o melale manuša*

'I shrink from/avoid eating together with dirty people' (Lípa 1963: 31).

The last mentioned verb is mentioned in Hübschmannová et al. (1991), but does not seem to be known outside the Slovakian region.

Examples for 'dare/be allowed to' + INF are more widespread, either with older elements or with borrowed verbs:

(147) *te na tromas les te demel*

'Don't dare to thrash him.'

(148) *o čhave na tromanás džungales te vakarel angle daj anglo dad*

'(The) children were not allowed to use filthy words in the presence of their parents.'

(149) *kajso na tromadiljahas pro svetos te avel*

'Something like this should never have happened (in the world).'

(All from Hübschmannová et al. 1991).

(150) *okolo duj phrala na truoman uze tute te āl*

'Those two brothers didn't dare to come to you' (Knobloch 1953: 48).

In Steiermark Sinti inflected *tromav*, *tromas*, *tromal* etc. has been reduced to a particle *trum/drum*. In this case, the verb of the object clause was required for expressing the grammatical person, and consequently no INF construction could develop.

(151) *glan i muršendi trum ti landžeröl pes nit* (3rd P.SG.)

'In front of men she wasn't allowed to take off her clothes.'

(152) *nina u murš drum ti džan...* (3rd P.PL.)

'Even the men weren't allowed to go...' (Knobloch 1950: 225).

The same is true for the German loan *tref/terf* < *dürfen*, dial. *derfn*, which has been adopted not as a finite verb, but as a particle, most likely by analogy with *trum*. After these particles the finite verb may inflect for tense (which is normally disallowed after the "SUBJ particle" *te*).

(153) *(koj džuvet) tref ti čivöl pes joj erst paš peske romesti tejli*

'(This woman) is allowed to lie with her husband only [six weeks later]' (Knobloch 1950: 229; for present tense).

(154) *kek murš tref ti lejs kol tikni čaves ani gali* (with the main verb in the past tense)

'None of the men was allowed to take the baby onto his lap' (ibid. 230; for past tense).

This form reminds us of German Sinti *darf-te*, whereby borrowing has been carried out in each dialect independently. The syntactic behavior of *darf-te* does not differ from that of *tref*.

(155) *tu darf-te kres kana i merklin*

'Now you may bake the cake' (Holzinger 1993: 118).

In addition to *trum* and *tref* Steiermark Sinti has inflected *trauninel pes*, borrowed from German *sich trauen*:

(156) *me man na trauninaf man khie te džal*

'I don't dare to go home' (Knobloch 1950: 228).

The modal verb in the following sentence is a loan from Czech:

(157) *našmejinel te xan xaben kovkusiha*

'He mustn't eat food containing margarine' (Lípa 1963: 31).

In general, an INF is required whenever the governing verb preserved its inflection.

There is another important verb combined with INF, *bistr-el* 'forget'. Since it cannot be subsumed under any of the categories established in this study, it will be quoted here.

(158) *pobisterdjum te phenel, hodj...*

'I forgot to mention that...' (Vekerdi 1984: 79; Vend dialect).

6.2.4. Infinitives after Manipulative Verbs

Governing verbs of this type effectuate an action to be done, mostly by another person than the causator, which leads automatically to a heteroprosopic construction. Nothing is said about the realization/fulfilment of the action.

a) *Causative* constructions, partly with *kerel* 'make', but more frequently with *del* 'give':

(159) *kerava tumen jekhetane (te) sovel*

'I'll make you sleep together' (von Sowa 1887: 169);

(160) *dinjas balos te kerel*

'He organized a ball' (von Sowa 1887: 135);

(161) *me dinjom lest'e te za'ere*

'I made him harness [the horses]' (Barannikov 1934: 114).

In the following cases *d-el* may be understood as 'cause' or literally as 'give':

(162) *de o love te garuvel*, either

‘Give her the money that she might hide it’, or

‘Make her hide the money’ (Kopernicki 1930: 19), and similarly

(163) *i romny dela tuke te xal*

‘The woman will give you to eat/will make you eat’ (Dobrovol’skij 1908: 11).

b) From the causative we have to distinguish the *permissive* constructions, by which it is permitted (not prohibited), or simply tolerated that something is done; the verbum regens is *muk-el/mek-el* ‘let/leave’, and sometimes, again, *d-el* ‘give’, as in the causative construction. In this it behaves like German *lassen* ‘let’.

(164) *tek nixt mukehs les an peskro kher Ø sovel*

‘Nobody let him sleep in his house’ (without *te*; Holzinger 1993: 169).

(165) *mukeam men khajni maški phuri menči nixt te dikhöl*

‘We didn’t show ourselves anywhere among the old people’ (Knobloch 1950: 227).

(166) *me les kamav te mukav te terdjol*

‘I want to leave him standing’ (Ješina 1886: 54).

Since in this dialect 3rd P.SG. and INF are identical as to their form, *te terdjol* might also be a finite verb.

(167) *the tuke deha jek jak avri te lel, ta daha tut te xal*

‘If you let one of your eyes be pulled out, then I will give you to eat’ (Miklosich 1878: 246; Carpathians).

(168) *dinja pe la romnjake ži ando rat te maren*

‘He let himself be beaten by his wife, until blood was flowing’ (Banga 1993: 64).¹⁶

c) Instances with other manipulative verbs are rare, so we will cite them without further classification.

Verbs of giving orders and instructions:

(169) *phendas man te džal*

‘He told me to go’ (Finck 1903: 9).

(170) *mange phenena pr-odova te dikhel*

‘They will give me the order to watch it’ (Kopernicki 1930: 33).

(171) *so-sîg phengja vaš o doxtora te džal*

‘He ordered to send for the doctors as soon as possible’ (ibid. 48).

After this type of *phenel* “that”-sentences occur along with INF.

(172) *phendja mange te kier gajum fieder*

‘She told me that it would be better to go home’ (Knobloch 1953: 42; Liebing).

This *phenel* has to be distinguished from the homonymous 'say, tell' used for expressing things that actually happened.

Verbs of demanding and asking:

(173) *me mangap tu te džal*

'I ask you to go' (Finck 1903: 9).

(174) *mangasa tumen te priles amen dre peskiro kolchozo*

'We ask you to accept us into your kolchoz' (Sergijevskij and Barannikov 1938: 174).

Since *tumen* and *te priles* do not agree for grammatical person, *te priles* must be considered an INF.

Verbs of teaching and learning:

An INF should be generally admitted after *sikavel* 'teach' (heteroprosopic), but I was not able to find any example for it. There is, however, an instance of INF after *sikljol* 'learn' (tautoprosopic):

(175) *miro čha imar siklila te pisinen paš o slugadipen*

'My son learned to write in the army' (Lípa 1963: 37).

The following verbs require tautoprosopic constructions.

Verbs of bringing about or succeeding:

(176) *talinava odoj te sovel the varekas te daravel*

'I will succeed in sleeping there and frightening whomsoever' (Ješina 1886: 140).

For 'decide, resolve' only one example can be adduced:

(177) *jeslib pridžilja lačxo manuš, rišylasja by ty vydža*

'If there came a good man, I would resolve to get married' (Barannikov 1934: 120).

This sentence follows the Ukrainian model, with the Slavic verb form *rišylasja* fully preserved.

6.2.5. Infinitives after Verbs of Sensory Perception

For this usage of INF, normal in German, and possible in Czech and Slovakian and also in Hungarian, nearly no Romani examples can be cited; but see

(178) *pale dikhle oda moxtore te džal tele panjeha*

'Again they saw those chests drifting down the river' (von Sowa 1887: 165).

This sentence is semantically and syntactically well formed, it corresponds to an AcI of the West European languages. That AcI-constructions are not in general use can be seen, however, from the following sentence, where the agent of the object clause is lacking:

(179) *kaj dikhnas sovnakune love te činen preko, kaj mind'ar len te chuden he te phanden*

'Where they [people] would see, that they [the robbers] changed gold coins, they [people] should seize them immediately and imprison them' (ibid. 167).

Probably, AcI-constructions are omitted where the INF-clause would become too complex (with objects and other complements).

6.2.6. Infinitives after Verbs of Motion

There are constructions of different degrees of complexity. Thus in English we have

a) a verb of motion together with the bare INF, as in German *Ich ging schwimmen* 'I went swimming';

b) a verb of motion together with an expanded INF, as in *I came to ask him for money*.

The modification in b) is hardly important for evaluating the syntactic and semantic relations between the two verbal constituents since, as in a), the INF is immediately dependent on the governing verb. The situation is different if the governing verb takes complements of its own, for by this expansion the meaning and sometimes even the valency of the verb might be changed;

c) a verb of motion together with complements + INF, as in *I went to the library (in order) to read*, and

d) both verbs expanded by complements, as in *I went yesterday to the library (in order) to read a book*.

What has been said about the relation between a) and b), holds for c) and d) as well, since only the expansion of the governing verb seems to have a bearing on the finality of the whole construction. The question is whether the governing verb has only the function of expressing motion or whether it introduces a final clause. In my opinion, the two cases cannot be distinguished categorically, since both functional components are present in both constructions (a and c). A difference might be that in a) the focus is on the motion, whereas in b) it is on the goal of the motion.

In some language groups different verbs of motion are utilized to render different directions of an action, but in European languages, including Romani, no such distinction has been grammaticalized.

Let us have a look at the various constructions found in Romani dialects. There are

a) combinations of INF with 'go' *džal* and 'walk' *phirel*, sometimes with a

Slavic prefix added. Apparently, they are possible in all INF dialects.

(180) *džava te sovel*, lit.

'I go to sleep' (Puchmayr 1821: 19).

(181) *sar tut džaha te ščepinen, ta tut ekhnajoro dukhala*

'If you go to get an inoculation, it will hurt a little' (Lípa 1963: 33).

(182) *miri daj džal Ø mangel*

'My mother goes begging' (Holzinger 1993: 170).

Note the optional omission of the particle *te* in Sinti. In the Central dialects *te* is hardly ever lacking.

b) combinations of 'go' + INF + complement. They seem to be admitted without restrictions.

(183) *tunče one džile te pe jagali*

'Then they went to drink brandy' (Barannikov 1934: 114).

Along with simple *džal* reflexive forms like *džal peske* are in use:

(184) *džava mange koter žiros te mangel*

'I will go there to ask for fat' (von Sowa 1887: 174).

c) combinations of 'go' + complement + INF (+ complement):

(185) *džiljom romenca te vype*

'I went with some men (in order) to drink' (Barannikov 1934: 119).

Interestingly, *romenca* can be related here to both verbs.

(186) *tunčile džaha ande kirčma te vype*

'Then we go to the pub (in order) to drink' (ibid. 126);

(187) *taj žahahi andi kočma te kialel me taj mri phen*

'And we used to go to the inn (in order) to dance, my sister and I' (Knobloch 1953: 42; Liebing);

(188) *ov džalas andro foros daresi buti te roden*

'He went to the town (in order) to look for some job' (Lípa 1963: 39).

In the central Russian region, object clauses can be found instead:

(189) *giljam me čhavenca deste te phagas* (1st P.PL.)

'I went with my sons to break branches' (Dobrovol'skij 1908: 20).

All of these instances have in common that the complement of the governing verb is semantically related to both verbs, although syntactically it is dependent on the governing verb only.

d) combinations of 'go' etc. + INF + final clause, as in *I came to see you in order to know*. This type of construction is rarely met with in Romani, apparently not because it is disallowed by the basic structures of the language, but because it is rare in colloquial language in general. In the material available to me I was not able to find instances of this construction.

No doubt the verb used most frequently as *verbum regens* is 'go', but 'walk'

and 'come' are used as well, and sometimes also 'drive' or 'go (by a vehicle)'. To be mentioned here, too, are constructions with 'be' as a governing element, where 'be' has to be interpreted as 'have gone (and been back)', as in German *ich war einkaufen*, approximately 'I had been out shopping'. Since constructions like these are found exclusively in dialects which have been under German influence, German origin is the most likely explanation.

Examples grouped according to the governing verbs:

(190) *odža t o rašaja phirnahi džemli te kinel*

'The priests used to go there (in order) to buy rolls' (Knobloch 1953: 36; Burgenland).

(191) *phirnas ke leste bare raja te xal he te pijel*

'There came to him important men in order to eat and to drink' (von Sowa 1887: 166f.).

(192) *me vejom tire dadeha te rakerel*

'I came to talk to your father' (Finck 1903: 44).

(193) *amare romnja prydzana te ztrade amen usjavoren*

'Our wives will come (in order) to chase us out [of the pub]' (Barannikov 1934: 126).

(194) *lagle dadeha te kine grasten*

'We went (by a horse-drawn vehicle) with my father in order to buy horses' (Barannikov 1934: 118).

(195) *me sjomahi buburki te čuoren*

'We had been out stealing cucumbers' (Knobloch 1953: 42; Liebing).

(196) *me sinjumahi upri jekh phuv armi te čuorel*

'I had gone to a field to steal cabbage' (ibid.).

(197) *u tu mang(e) odoj sal, mindro soviben te prečinel*

'And you have come here in order to rouse me from my sleep' (Kopernicki 1930: 23).

Here *thol pes* 'set out for, be going to' can be added:

(198) *thode pes te bešel*

'They went (there) in order to settle down' (Rozwadowski 1936: 73).

Even *beš-el* in one of its meanings ('sit down') does belong here.

(199) *pobyšle anda katuna te de duma*

'We sat down in the tent in order to converse' (Barannikov 1934: 127).

(200) *pobešle te xa*

'They sat down in order to eat' (ibid. 117).

6.2.6.1. Infinitives after Transitive Verbs of Motion

These constructions can be heteroprosopic, conditioned by the transitivity of the governing verb. The semantic tie between regens and INF seems to be rather loose, which is in accordance both with the heteroprosopy and the finality of the construction.

(201) *me tuke anava te xal te pijel*

'I will bring you (something) to eat (and) to drink' (Kopernicki 1930: 19).

(202) *...kaj mange te anel te xal the te pijel*

'... that she brings me to eat and to drink' (ibid.16).

(203) *lijardom ande aver xvoro te bi'ine*

'I took her to another town in order to sell her' (Barannikov 1934: 119).

(204) *miri baba phirel čarnikenge a lidžal len te bikinen pr-o tarhos*

'My grandmother gathers sawdust and takes it to the market in order to sell it' (Lípa 1964: 31).

(205) *bičadja o kiraji pre cile kiesten ando gaf odole manuše te ruodel*

'The king sent all his soldiers to the village in order to look for that man' (Knobloch 1953: 50; Liebing).

(206) *...so amenge kinaha aspon' te xal*

'...that we might buy at least (something) to eat' (von Sowa 1887: 169).

(207) *s'inaha pe ty xa*

'We will buy for ourselves (something) to eat' (Barannikov 1934: 125).

6.3. Other Uses of the Infinitive

These cases have in common that INF is not dependent upon a given class of governing verbs, although there is something like a trigger for INF.

6.3.1. Infinitives in Direct and Indirect Interrogative Sentences

In the conservative dialects of the Balkan, which did not develop an INF, constructions with independent SUBJs are quite frequent. The sentences in question have modal character, both in imperative and in interrogative sentences.

For imperative (adhortative) sentences:

(208) *te džas ando foro!*

'Let us go to the town!'

For indirect interrogative sentences:

(209) *na džanav kaj te džav, so te kerav*

'I don't know where to go, what to do.'

For direct modal interrogative sentences:

(210) *kaj te džav, so te kerav?*

'Where should/could I go, what should/could I do?'

Which of these constructions can or must be transformed into INF-constructions in the Central dialects?

a) It is evident that a transformation is not possible for imperative sentences, not even for sentences containing an overt agent as

(211) **te džal amen ando foro*

'Let us go to the town!'

This would be a kind of personal INF. Apparently, it is not by chance that there is no contact language that would allow for such constructions.¹⁷

b) Indirect interrogative sentences with INF are possible and do occur in the texts examined; cf.

(212) *me na džanaf so akana te kerel*

'I don't know what to do now' (Rozwadowski 1936: 76).

(213) *nane man so len te del te xal, lit.*

'I have nothing (what) to give them to eat' (Kopernicki 1930: 38).

(214) *me džanava so devleja te kerel*

'I know what to do with God's help' (ibid. 56).

(215) *tu na džanes kaj tu te thovel*

'You don't know where to go' (Rozwadowski 1936: 82).

(216) *na džinau so mand'i te řere*

'I don't know what to do' (Barannikov 1934: 119).

It has to be emphasized that, with reflexive INFs, the reflexive pronoun does not take the neutralized form *pes/pe*, but retains the expression for the person intended (see in [215] *kaj tu te thovel*), contrary to what is found in Slavic languages.

c) In exceptional cases, even direct modal interrogative sentences and modal sentences in general can be formed with INF; cf.

(217) *so te řere?*

'What to do?' (Barannikov 1934, 116),

which corresponds to Russian *čto delat'*?, where *te řere* should be an INF rather than a 2nd P.SG.; and similarly

(218) *so les te řire? ty xasave i buder niso i nikaj ty le, lit.*

'What to do (for him)? To die, and there is nothing more, where to take from (something)' (ibid. 125).

It cannot be excluded, however, that the model for this construction was Russian *ničego ne podelaješ* 'you can't do anything here!', i.e., a finite form.

The following is a modal sentence containing an INF or a 2nd P.SG.:

(219) *ř'xir nikasťi ty biťine*

'You can't sell this house to anybody' (Barannikov 1934: 116).

As far as I can see, it is impossible to decide on either solution.

6.3.2. Infinitives in Topicalized Constructions

In many languages such constructions are admitted at least in colloquial style; cf. in German

(220) *wissen weiß ich nicht, aber...*

'As for knowing I don't know,'

but constructions making use of the auxiliary verb *tun* 'make' are more frequent:

(221) *lesen tu ich!*, approximately

'I do read!'

Apparently, this is copied in Sinti:

(222) *pharel krau gar* = German 'tauschen tu ich nicht'

'As for changing I don't change' (Holzinger 1993: 169).

In Slovakian Romani, I found an example with the verb repeated in the INF form:

(223) *te roskiden la (e bicigla) roskidn'om, al'e buter laha nadžanljom n'ič te keren*

'To take it apart (the bicycle) I took it apart, but more I wasn't able to do with it' (Lípa 1963: 37).

Since this construction is known to Czech and Slovakian too, it is most likely that it has been borrowed from these Slavic languages.

6.3.3. Infinitives after Emphatic Expressions

Russian has a special construction, where the imperative of 'give', *davaj*, is followed by an INF. This emphatic construction has been copied in the Romani dialects spoken in southern Russia and Ukraine, with the Russian imperative preserved in its original shape. It is nearly impossible to give an appropriate translation of this construction into other languages. The essence of this construction seems to be to mark the emphatic beginning of an action.

The following examples are from Barannikov 1934:

(224) *me davaj te mange-pe*

'I began to beg' (116).

(225) *davaj me te mange leste*

'I began now to ask from him' (117).

(226) *i davaj me kote te džuve*

'And now I lived there/began to live there' (116).

The above examples contain an overt subject, but it may be omitted as well if it is recoverable from context:

(227) *džuvde kote, t'inde grasten i vurdon, davaj kote ty t'imosare*

'We lived there, bought horses and wagons, and (consequently) began to trade' (115).

6.4. The Infinitive in Written Varieties of Romani

Nearly all texts written down in Romani are, or have been until recently, records made by linguists, ethnologists, and so forth, that is, by non-native speakers. In more recent times, however, more attempts are made by native speakers to use Romani as a written language. Texts of this kind are now accessible also from dialects having developed an INF. As might have been expected INF is made use of in these texts quite naturally. First I want to quote some examples from a small collection of poems published in Slovenia (Livijen and Horvat-Muc 1994). The authors use the Prekmurje Romani belonging to the Romungro group.

(228) *hijaba hi pal lende te rol*

'It's in vain to shed tears over them' (12).

(229) *kada kamahahi te čorel / tajni babakre čohanjipi*

'When we tried to steal/ the secrets of grandmother's magic' (12).

(230) *ale andu amaro gaf / menge šukar muzika te cidel*

'They came to our village/ to play for us beautiful songs' (14).

(231) *u asva leske kezdinde te žal*

'And tears began (him) to flow' (18).

As can be seen from the few examples, the functions of INF are manifold even here.

Some of the texts contained in a Slovak Romani reader (Banga 1993) can be considered as specimens of primarily written language. Since several examples have already been quoted from it, we may leave it at that.

Texts of this kind can also be found in the Prague periodical *Romano Džaniben*. Here too use is made of INF constructions (Daniel 1994):

(232) *ola poša lidžanas te bikinel ando gav*

'They carried this sand to the village in order to sell it'.

(233) *amare pharipena na džanahas te khuvel avri*

'We didn't manage to overcome our difficulties' (31).

Apparently, the authors of these texts had no difficulty in using INF constructions, and they had no motive to omit them. Omitting INFs might have

been motivated by the intention not to create a written variety very different from the Vlax dialects spoken in Slovakia and Hungary. As it seems, this motive did not play a decisive role when the texts in question were written down. Therefore it is astonishing that an older text of this dialect group, the translation of the Acts of the Apostles into a Moravian variety (British Bible Society 1936), displays very few INFs; instead of the INF constructions to be expected we find the conservative "that"-clauses after a variety of governing verbs.

(234) *kamenas te muken...*

'They wanted to leave...'

(235) *lile te vakeren*

'They began to talk'.

(236) *ehas o čiros te pe mängen*

'It was the time to say their prayers'.

(237) *len mukle te džan*

'They let them go.'

There are even two examples with an imperfect following the SUBJ particle *te*, a construction not existent in normal speech; cf.

(238) *kamelas te vakerelas*

'He wanted to speak'.

(239) *ehi feder te šunahas ...*

'It is better that we heard....'

The translator used these constructions even in places where the Czech model presents an INF. Nevertheless, INF constructions were known to the translator, as can be gathered from the following examples (with literal translations)

(240) *kames man te našavel*

'Do you want to destroy me' (7, 28).

(241) *avljom tele t' ikerel len sasten*

'I descended in order to save them' (7, 34).

(242) *kaj te thoves avri tro vast len te sastjarel*

'When you stretch out your hand to cure them (4, 30).

(243) *he savore aver manuša daranas ke lende te džal*

'And all the other people were afraid to go to them' (5, 13).

These discrepancies may be best explained by assuming that the translator was not a native speaker, but that he became aware of the fact that Romani had no old inherited INF form. It was possibly this knowledge that made him avoid INF constructions as bad Romani distorted under the influence of, for instance, Czech.

6.5. The Development of the Infinitive as a Grammaticalization Process

The transition from object clause to INF is a process of grammaticalization and even a step towards morphologization, since a paradigm of verb forms inflected for number and person is replaced by an uninflected form. Through this process grammatical redundancy is reduced because number and person within the verb complex are expressed only once, not twice as in the former stage; compare *kamav te del* 'I want to give' with *kamav te dav* with the same meaning. In most dialects no ideal morphologization has been reached since the particle *te*, betraying the origin of INF from an object clause, is normally preserved. While this *te* is omitted in Central dialects only occasionally, there are instances in varieties of Sinti where *te* has been abandoned optionally or even generally. According to Holzinger (1993: 168 ff) *hajev-el* 'know how to' is the only verb after which *te* is always omitted. In other cases, the omission of *te* does not depend on the semantics of the governing verb, but on syntactic constellations; the nearer INF is to the governing verb, the more often it is lacking. It can be seen from this formulation that this is a statistical rather than a strict rule. For other Sinti dialects no investigations are available. It is probable that this process has advanced most in Finnish Romani, but our knowledge is too scanty to confirm this assumption. With the loss of the particle the new category is expressed now by one word form only, that is, it has become morphologized. But neither grammaticalization nor morphologization can be considered ideal; since the INF did not receive an expression of its own, it remains identical in form with one of the persons of the short present paradigm, which may lead to confusion in unfavorable contexts.¹⁸

7. The Infinitive in Some Contact Languages of Romani

As has been claimed several times, the INF category would not have come into being if Romani had not be influenced by INF languages. We are compelled to maintain this assumption because of the distribution of INF in Romani dialects. Also, an INF is lacking in dialects that had been under the influence of languages possessing an INF, but making little use of it, as for instance Rumanian and the eastern dialects of Serbian. Therefore, no INF is found in Vlax and other dialects spoken in these regions. Where, however, INF is indispensable, as in Hungarian, the West Slavic languages and German, the Romani dialects did develop INF. In what follows we try to give an overview of INF usage in some European languages, in order to illustrate to what degree the Romani dialects correspond with their respective contact languages. However, no detailed comparison is intended here.

7.1. The Infinitive in Hungarian

In Hungarian, INF is unequivocally marked by the morpheme *-ni*. There is a complication in that non-Indoeuropean language in that INF as a nominalized form can be inflected for possession (with possessive suffixes). This enables Hungarian to use INF constructions where in other INF languages only "that"-clauses are admitted. Thus we find side by side

(1) *csendben kell len-ni* 'One has to be quiet,' but also

(2) *csendben kell len-n-ünk* 'We have to be quiet', literally something like 'Our quiet-being must be.'

Clearly, there was no way for Romani speakers to simulate the second construction. Romani has no possessive suffixes, but even free possessive pronouns cannot be combined with INF, i.e. the potential offered by Hungarian could not be exhausted; the "new" INF does not behave like a typical verbal noun.

INFs are used in Hungarian in the following environment classes:

a) after impersonal expressions as 'it is good/difficult/permitted/an error' etc., e.g.

(3) *jó tudni* 'It is good to know.'

b) after expressions of existence, e.g.

(4) *van elég mit en-ni* 'There is enough (what) to eat'.

c) after modal expressions as 'one must', 'it is possible', 'it is befitting', 'want', 'know (how to)' etc..

(5) *az áruházban mindent lehet kap-ni* 'One can buy everything in the store.'

Here, as in German, 'can' may be omitted:

(6) *az áruházban mindent Ø kap-ni*;

(7) *nem bír tovább virrasztan-ni* 'He wasn't able to stay awake.'

(8) *fel szabad ten-ni?* 'May I get up?'

(9) *meg kell ten-n-ünk* 'We have to do this.'

Here we recognize the elements *szabad* and *bír*- transferred into Romani (see 6.2.1.2.).

(10) *nem akarja beismerni* 'he doesn't want to admit it.'

d) after phase verbs as *kezd*- 'begin', *megszűnik*- 'stop';

e) after verbs of sentiment as *mer*- 'dare', *sajnál*- 'regret', further after *elfelejt*- 'forget', but not after *hisz*- 'believe', *fél*- 'fear', *remél*- 'hope', all requiring "that"-sentences.

(11) *elfelejtettem felad-ni a levelet* 'I am afraid of forgetting the letter,' but

(12) *azt hitte, hogy itt pihenhet* 'He believed that he could rest here.'

f) after manipulative verbs.

Provided the permissive is expressed by a verb of its own, an INF is required after it.

(13) *a tésztát kél-ni hagyja* 'Let the dough rise!.'

Causatives and, to some degree, permissives are not relevant here, since they are rendered by morphological means; *paranczol-* 'order', *kér-* 'ask', *megtilt-* 'prohibit' are followed by a "that"-clause, but *tanít-* 'teach' and *talin-* 'bring about' require an INF.

g) after verbs of sensory perception as *lát-* 'see', *hall-* 'hear', *érez-* 'feel'.

(14) *láttalak belép-ni* 'I saw you enter.'

h) after verbs of motion:

(15) *jöttelek meglátogat-ni* 'I came to visit you.'

i) in indirect interrogative sentences:

(16) *nem tudom, mit csinál-ni* 'I don't know what to do.'

k) in emphatic constructions, with one and the same verb both in finite form and in INF (cf. below Czech); cf.

(17) *halla-ni hallom, de nem értem*, lit. 'To hear I heard, but I don't understand it.'

Also, an INF is found after the honorific verb *tetszik-* 'deign (to do)'; (cf. Czech. *ráčit* id.):

(18) *tessék leül-ni* 'Sit down please.'

This short overview will have shown the manifold applicability of INF in Hungarian. It is unlikely that in Hungarian Romani INF is used in instances, where it would not be possible in Hungarian itself. However, special investigations will be necessary to confirm this assumption.

7.2. The Infinitive in Czech (and Slovak)

We will give here some examples from Czech that are valid for the closely related Slovak as well. Since much coincides with Hungarian usage, we can do without giving examples for all uses. It should be clear, however, that Hungarian and the two Slavic languages do not behave identically with regard to all governing verbs.

We find INFs after impersonal expressions, both adjectives and verbs, and in identifying constructions; cf. for the latter Slovakian

(1) *mlčat' zlato, hovorit' srebro* 'Speech (is) silver, silence (is) gold' (cf. [75] above).

INFs are normal after modal expressions, after phase verbs, but also in

(2) *zůstal stát* = German 'Er blieb stehen', English 'He stopped, he came to a halt'.

INF is also normal after verbs of sentiment as *odvážit se* 'dare', but not after *věřit* 'believe' and *doufat* 'hope'.

After most of the manipulative verbs INF is possible or compulsory, for instance after *zakázat* 'order' and *rozhodnout* 'decide', but only in some instances after *prosit* 'ask'. With causative-permissive verbs as *dát* 'give' and *nechat* 'let' INF is required.

Further after verbs of sensory perception as in

(3) *slyším tě mluvit* 'I hear you talk',

after verbs of motion, as for instance.

(4) *běž se napít* 'Hurry to drink!'

Czech has in common with German that 'be' can be used with the meaning 'have gone (and been back)' combined with INF:

(5) *byl jsem ho navštívit* 'I have been out visiting him.'

Also, INF is possible after 'have' with various meanings.

(6) *mám tu knihu ležet na stole* 'I have this book lying on the table', i.e., 'It is there.'

(7) *chléb nadrobit mám sám* 'I have bread myself for dipping;' i.e., 'have something in order to do something with it.'

in direct and indirect interrogative sentences:

(8) *co teď, vrátit se?* 'What now, shall we return?'

(9) *ne vím co dělat/kde spát* 'I don't know what to do/where to sleep.'

and finally in reinforced constructions as

(10) *vědět to nevím*, lit. 'to know I don't know it',

and after the honorific verb *ráčít*:

(11) *račte si sednout* 'sit down, please.'

7.3. The Infinitive in Russian

INF is widely used in Russian too, especially in impersonal constructions, although it is not possible after certain verbs where it normally occurs in Czech and Slovakian. It has to be noted that, in impersonal constructions, the copula is lacking for the present tense, since it has fallen out of use quite generally. An INF is found in the following instances:

1. in impersonal constructions. A personal marker is lacking or expressed by a pronoun/noun in dative. INF is dependent on the copula; cf.

a) for negated possibility:

(1) *ničego ne (bylo) vidat* 'There is/was nothing to see';

(2) *nam ne dognat ego* 'We can't catch up with him.'

b) for positive possibility (here not neatly differentiated from necessity):

(3) *kak proexat v derevnu?* 'How to get to the village?';

(4) *kak vybrat'sja iz etogo položenja?* 'How to extricate oneself from that situation?'

c) for expressing wishes, often reinforced by the conditional particle *by*:

(5) *mne by teper' rabotat'* 'I would like to work now.'

d) for necessity or order:

(6) *pozvat' ego sjuda* 'He should be called here.'

There are some more, rather unusual functions of INF, among others

e) for emphasizing an action:

(7) *deneg ni na čto nexvataet, a on - pit' da vsě pit'*

'There is too little money for everything, but he doesn't stop drinking!'

f) for expressing a strong and vivacious action, especially after *nu* 'now' and *davaj* lit. 'give!':

(8) *my seli i davaj gresti* 'We sat down and took to rowing.'

g) Contrary to what is found in other European languages, an INF is required after *esli* 'if' (in the protasis of a conditional sentence) as well as after *prežde čem* 'before' (temporal clause).

Other uses of infinitives:

2. after adjectives and nouns as 'it is good to...', 'it would be nonsense to...' etc.

3. after expressions of existence:

(9) *ne bylo čego pokušat'* 'There was nothing to eat';

4. after modal expressions, both finite and infinite;

5. after phase verbs as *načat'* 'begin', *prodolžat'* 'continue', *perestat'* 'cease';

6. after manipulative verbs; there are no standard expressions for causative and permissive in Russian, but *dat'* 'give' is sometimes used:

(10) *on dal sebe šit' pal'to* 'He had a coat made for himself' (causative).

The same verb is used for the permissive, *pozvolit'*, *razrešit'* 'permit'.

Other verbs with INF: *povelet'*, *zastavit'*, *prikazat'* 'order' and sim., *poprosit'*, *potrebovat'* 'ask, demand' and many others (all of them in heteroprosopic constructions);

7. after several verbs listed here unclassified: *rešit'sja* 'resolve', *uspet'* 'succeed', *naučit'(sja)* 'teach; learn', *nadet'sja* 'hope';

8. after intransitive and transitive verbs of motion; in this case 'that'-clauses are possible as well, probably dependent on how many complements are added to the governing verb. As a matter of course, "that"-clauses are required with heteroprosopic constructions.

9. INF constructions are possible in interrogative and imperative sentences.

Overall, then, Russian makes use of INF in quite the same way the West European languages do, the difference being that after verbs of sensory perception and after *verit'* AcI-construction are definitely excluded.

From this overview we may conclude that the contact languages of the various Romani dialects cover all uses of INF found in Romani. Apart from the inflected INF of Hungarian, it cannot be said with certainty whether there are restrictions conditioned by Romani structure which would block the transfer of certain INF constructions found in the contact languages. The answer to this question must be left to future research.

Notes

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¹ The problem of INF in Romani is mentioned as early as in Puchmayr (1821). A more detailed discussion is found in Pott (1844: vol. 1, 327ff.), where investigations on Romani published up to that time were examined. The first and, to my knowledge, only publication exclusively dedicated to INF is Soravia (1978). The author deals with the form and origin of INF in the Central dialects, eventually rejecting the thesis of an Indic descent of INF.

² This view is held *expressis verbis* by Miklosich (1880: 102). Form and distribution of the "new" INF are described by him much less precisely than by Pott, and he has nothing to say about the origin of the forms. For Soravia (1978: 43f, 45), Greek is not responsible for the loss of a (possible) early INF in Romani, first because in Greek itself INF has been abandoned under the influence of a Balkanic substrate, and further, because even Nawari (Domari) has no relics of an INF. The first argument fails to be relevant, however, since in Greek INF use was reduced earlier than in other Balkan languages, and certainly prior to Greek-Romani contacts, but the second objection should be taken into consideration.

³ A comparison of Balkanic and Romani behavior is found in Friedman (1985).

⁴ The orthography found in the various sources has been unified and simplified; features as palatality or vowel length are only marked if they have more than phonetic value (e.g. with *r'i < ki*, with vowel contractions, and similar), and if they are necessary for understanding the content.

⁵ Knobloch (1953: 76) assumes that this form is an INF, but he has difficulties with analyzing the construction.

⁶ Lípa (1965: 41), too, noted that in Vlach dialects of Slovakia Hungarian INFs are being borrowed, and that in rare cases even INF constructions comparable to those of Romungro occur.

⁷ This can be concluded from the texts given in Kochanowski (1963) as well as from the scarce materials provided by Martinkevič (1976) and Ariste (1961). In Martinkevič we find examples for 'go' and 'want' with SUBJ; cf. *džala te čorel* 'he goes to steal', but *gine te pašuven* 'they went to sleep', and further *kamā te xav* 'I want to eat' (ibid. 3f.).

⁸ This does not speak in favor of the assumption that the dialect of Wales and Anglo-Romani might have a common ancestor.

⁹ This dialect does not belong to the Vlax group, as spoken for instance in Bosnia. A 3rd P.SG. ending in *-i* is found in varieties of Arli, but here only with bisyllabic stems as *tasav-i*. According to Uhlik the first Roma immigrants to Bosnia were Arli who left no traces linguistically. It may well be that the Dolensko dialect represents a remnant of those tribes, possibly mixed later with other dialects.

¹⁰ Soravia (1978) mentions only INFs in *-el* and *-i*, i.e., forms derived from the 3rd P.SG.

¹¹ Soravia (1978, 48f.) gives a short, incomplete list of expressions that are followed by INF; apparently, he did not have access to all materials from the Central dialects and he had no data from the dialects spoken in the East Slavic region.

¹² Similarly, Arli *valjani* and Bugurdži *valjazla* 'must' (see Boretzky 1993: 73) diverge from the original meaning (cf. *valja* 'be worth; it is appropriate').

¹³ Even *l-el* with its original meaning 'take' can be combined with INF, at least if other complements are added:

vou lilja kadle graste pe duj dive te tere na probu

'He took this horse to keep it two days for testing' (Barannikov 1934: 113).

¹⁴ According to Hübschmannová (1991: 21ff.) this verb has a great number of functions, among them that of a phase verb 'continue (to do)' (cf. below).

¹⁵ There is, moreover, a verb *ladžal* 'be ashamed' followed by INF in Slovakian dialects; cf.

me bi ladžas te sikavel o jakha anglo čhave

'I would be ashamed to lift up my eyes in front of the children'

(Hübschmannová et al. 1991: 246).

¹⁶ For INF after *d-el* with its first meaning cf.

dynja len te xal te pijel

'He gave them to eat (and) to drink' (Kopernicki 1930: 27).

neka del man valaso upro va te makhel

'He should give me something to smear on my hand' (Knobloch 1953: 42; Liebing).

d-el is paralleled by *l-el*, which is followed by INF both in its primary and its secondary function (cf. footnote 13).

¹⁷ The only language in Eastern Europe allowing for a personal INF is Geg Albanian; cf. *me u çue, burra!* 'get up, men!' (imperative sentence; cf. Buchholz

and Fiedler 1987: 179). There is no overt subject expression in this example, but sentences with overt subjects are possible.

¹⁸ Judging from the morphology and the origin of the 'new' INF it should be impossible to derive real nouns from it, for example as German derives *Leben* from *leben*. There is, however, at least one exception in Slovakian non-Vlax Romani: *texan* masc. 'food' and a diminutive *texanoro*. This clearly demonstrates that here *te* is no longer a grammatical morpheme, but has become part of the noun stem. (This word is found not only in Hübschmannová et al. 1991, but also in normal texts.)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Nous, on n'en parle pas. Les vivants et les morts chez les Manouches. *Patrick Williams*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1993. 109 pp. 75 FF (paper). Collection Ethnologie de la France, vol. 13. ISBN 2-7351-0540-7.

Leonardo Piasere

I first read this book when it was at the manuscript stage and it seemed to me a masterpiece. When Williams informed me that it had been turned down by the first publishers he had contacted, I told myself it really must be a masterpiece. Now that I have reread it for this review, I am still convinced it remains a masterpiece. How does one review a masterpiece?

The problem with this book is that it seems to fit no predetermined genre of writing. The book is no autobiography, although Williams has known these Mānuš since he was a child; right from the first lines we see how familiar the author is with these men and women. Williams is an anthropologist and has published the book in a collection of anthropological studies, yet he applies what has recently been termed *anthropologie pudique* 'demure anthropology' (Izard 1994). There are no anthropological theories in this book; a few leading scholars (for example Lévi-Strauss and Malinowski) are quoted almost incidentally. Yet this book, as has been stated elsewhere (Bensa 1993), poses "crucial questions" for anthropology. Williams is not a novelist, but his "comprehensible style" (Bensa) makes the reader feel he or she is reading a literary work and not a scientific one. Within the Mānuš camps we can almost smell the air, see the colors, hear the noises, and above all perceive the silences. Neither is this little book a philosophical work, yet it is a great treatise on Mānuš gnosiology, ethics and cosmology. And if certain parts remind me of Levi-Strauss' *Tristes tropiques*, others remind me of Hesse's *Siddharta*. How

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does one review a masterpiece without damaging it? I must, nevertheless, attempt to do my job, so I will try to focus on at least one of the "crucial questions" that in my opinion the text poses. For the rest, I hope all non-francophone readers will be able to obtain a copy in their own language as soon as possible.

The ethnographic subject of the book is neither new nor original; the description of death rites in a "Gypsy" community, in this case a community of Mānuš stationed in Central France. These Mānuš do more or less what many other "Gypsy" groups do. When a person dies, they avoid mentioning the name of the deceased, they refrain from eating his or her favorite food, they cease to camp in the place where the death occurred, and they burn or discard the property of the deceased, including the mobile home, etc. (according to modalities which involve chiefly close relatives). All of these have been described over the past century, with certain variations, by ethnographers of the "Gypsies" (for example Crooke 1909). The author inserts these descriptions in his consideration of the relationships between the living and the dead on the one hand, and between Mānuš and Gadge (non-Gypsies) on the other, using the results of two recent works (Okely 1983, Piasere 1985) as a starting point. The novelty of the book lies in the author's interpretation, which can be thus summarized:

- 1) Like every human group, the Mānuš, too, aim at possessing the world they live in.
- 2) This possession is sought after above all through the establishment of a relationship with the dead; this relationship therefore assumes a fundamental symbolic importance.
- 3) The means used for the establishment of such a relationship is subtraction.

Let us concentrate for a moment on the latter. Often cosmogonies envisage worldly things born from nothing or from an indistinct expanse. Creation thus becomes a distinction, a discrimination. This is not the situation of the Mānuš, who find the worldly things already created by others, the Gadge. The world of the Mānuš is the world of the Gadge or, in other words, the world of the Gadge constitutes the world of the Mānuš. This world, like all worlds of human groups, has to be rendered civilized. But how do you civilize a world where the distinctions have already been made? Simply by repeating the operation and considering as indistinct all the distinctions previously made. The process of civilization thus occurs in reverse, not through the creation of an object (i.e., the addition of a new creation to the things already created), but through subtraction (i.e., the non-use of an object of the indistinct expanse of the Gadge). Creation occurs through the non-use of an object (material or immaterial). It is the system of respect for the dead that regulates the modalities of such a non-use, of such an abstention-creation. The modalities of creation are diverse, so we can limit ourselves to the description of perhaps the most spectacular one. The *mulengri placa* is the place in which the

Mānuš leave some objects belonging to the deceased person and which have escaped destruction; these objects are called *mulle*. It may happen that such a place is the property of the Mānuš and is situated among the dwellings of the Gadge. Since it is a place not frequented and is left in a state of abandon (full of weeds and discarded objects, etc.), it stands out in its abandoned state amidst the order of the Gadge. A *mulengri placa*, seen as a “non-place” by the Gadge, is on the contrary a marked place for the Mānuš, a place no longer used out of respect of the dead, a place which, subtracted from every-day use, becomes the only civilized place amidst all those Gadge houses: a Mānuš place. In this way, according to Williams, the Mānuš take possession of the world. The sense of the Mānuš world—the creation of the world—occurs through subtraction. Where one expects to see emptiness (abstinence, etc.), there is in fact a fullness of sense—Mānuš sense.

This procedure affects many aspects of everyday life and strongly conditions group/individual relationships. One of the most important aspects is memory. Since close relatives refrain from speaking about the deceased, or if they do so, it is with hundreds of precautions, the memory of the deceased person is kept alive first collectively by non-relatives and then, as time passes, individually in the memories of single beings, with the result that the Mānuš community seems to be an “amnesiac community composed of individuals capable of memory” (p. 13). Another consequence is that respect for the deceased takes the shape of that social construction that is for us “memory”; memory for the Mānuš concerns the integrity of the group and “does not give access to the past, but to the immutable,” to the “absolute coincidence of generations” (p. 15). Thus it is the dead who found the group, but the anonymous dead, who are not venerated individually since there are no culture heroes. “Only a dead man is a Mānuš who can be nothing other than a Mānuš. Yet soon no one will be able to speak of him” (p. 104).

I wish to demonstrate how one of the “crucial questions” that the Mānuš pose for general anthropology concerns the concept of culture, perhaps the most sacred concept of all modern anthropology. If the modalities of the Mānuš advent are those described by Williams, then obviously the “substantialist” definition of culture as given by Tylor (1871), on which generations of anthropologists have been bred, would lead us to classify the Mānuš as being “without culture” (they use the culture of others, the Gadge), or at best as having a “half-culture”—which, indeed, was what Kroeber attributed to “Gypsies” in general (1948). Yet not even Geertz’s (1973) semiologically derived concept of culture (via Weber-Parsons) is sufficient, though Williams, through the use of the Jakobsonian concept of “sense,” is actually much closer to this than would appear. Williams says that the Mānuš advent follows the same modalities as does the appearance of sense in language and that therefore this process “does not make the Mānuš institution of sense in any way different, nor indeed the Mānuš establishment *tout court*” (p. 29). Having reread this last

sentence, I can only say today that I agree partially. If we start from the Geertzian concept of culture still in vogue today, we know it can be defined as a network of socially established meanings. Now, if the Mānuš world is the world of the Gadge, this means there is a difference peculiar to the Mānuš advent, that is to say they construct their network of meanings using as a starting point other networks (i.e., those of the Gadge). If the procedure for the establishment of sense is the same, the fact that it is established on other meaning structures means that the Mānuš culture has a peculiarity, that of being a second grade culture. Following Hjelmlev's classic distinction between denotation and connotation (1968), we can say that the Mānuš culture is still only a connotative one, since its code is second grade, built upon a preexisting code, the denotative culture of the Gadge. If my interpretation is correct, then the consequences are both manifold and fundamental. I shall mention but two of them. On the one hand nearly all "Gypsy" anthropology needs to be rewritten. On the other, even general anthropology cannot be of assistance, because it is virtually void of conceptual instruments for analyzing connotative cultures (interpretative anthropology is also far from being satisfactory, for reasons I cannot dwell upon in a mere review). So perhaps we can say that Williams' "*anthropologie pudique*" in actual fact is based on a theoretical supersaturation. When faced with the Mānuš (and "Gypsies" in general?), anthropological theories melt away like butter.

If my interpretation is accepted, then it will be possible to overcome what appears as a mighty contradiction in Williams' works. Two years before *Nous on n'en parle pas* Williams published a book on Django Reinhardt, the famous jazz musician (1991). In this book he says that Django belonged to a group of Mānuš who essentially followed the same death rites as the other Mānuš. Then he shows how the memory of Django is still very much intact today among the French Mānuš and in Western Europe in general—so much so that they have created a new form of folklore music called "Mānuš jazz." The obvious question is, why should there be such a recognition for a "culture hero" within Gypsy groups which have constructed such efficacious cultural modalities for avoiding the recognition of founder heroes? Does Williams 1993 perhaps contradict Williams 1991? Does Django represent just an "exceptional [...] destiny?" (p. 13). I believe we can overcome this contradiction if we remember that the Mānuš culture is a connotative culture, a second grade culture, a culture which cannot afford not to take into consideration the signs on which it builds—the system of signs of the Gadge. Now, since the collective memory of the deceased is part of the system of signs of the Gadge, the Mānuš therefore "respect" their own dead following two modalities: abstinence, the search for oblivion within the community; supervisibility, as regards the world outside the community. Tombs, according to Williams, are looked after with great care; in that they represent the visibility of the group in Gadjo territory (the cemetery). In the same way we can say that Django's fame amongst the Gadge represents, for the

Mānuš, the visibility of their group, and it is for this reason that he can become a hero. In other words, a dead Mānuš can become a hero amongst the Mānuš only if she or he is a hero for the Gadge. Otherwise she or he disappears into the anonymity of the Mānuš dead (as indeed happens for the greater part of the Mānuš, whose tombs slowly disappear from the cemeteries of the Gadge). Anonymous within, famous without: Mānuš sense.

Yudo looked hard into the horizon of the Puys range and told me how by taking the road that forked at the foot of those hills and the other one that led to the other side and how behind that wood in the distance, or along the coast full of vineyards to your left... there, all around you, are other camps and here and there and there are the tombs, the *mulengre placi*, signs and traces...so the truth is revealed and the universe is turned upside-down: the Mānuš dominion over the world (pp. 94–95). Yes, I admit, this is the best book I have ever read about “Gypsies!”

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“Je moet weg, hier komen mensen wonen”: Woonwagenbeleid in Nederland 1890–1990. *David Adrianus Theodorus van Ooijen*. The Hague: SDU (Koninginnegracht 63, PB 20024, 2500 EA The Hague, Netherlands), 1993. 451 pp. (paper). ISBN 90-12-08036-3.

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David van Ooijen's “You Have to Leave, People are Coming to Live Here,” the published version of his 1993 dissertation in sociology (University of Rotterdam),

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is a detailed chronicle of 100 years of government and voluntary-sector involvement with caravan dwellers and Romanies.

Van Ooijen took the title from an announcement made by a municipal official to caravan dwellers in 1976 to the effect that they had to leave their site because a brick-built residential area was being planned to take its place. It is a reflection of the way in which the interests of the sedentary population are weighed against those of caravan dwellers.

Van Ooijen's book is especially interesting on account of his long-standing involvement with the field. He was a Member of Parliament for the Dutch Labor Party from 1971 to 1986, during which time his party spent several years in government. As an MP, his special subject was caravan dwellers. In the 1970s, I myself worked at the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work as head of the Caravan Dwellers Division, and we used to run into each other regularly.

In my view, the book is a virtually complete account of the development of policy and activities relating to the 40,000-strong caravan-dwelling community. Van Ooijen draws a distinction between this community and the 5,000 Romanies living in the Netherlands, whom he considers only briefly, his main observation being that they prefer to live in homogeneous groups on small sites, which is still the case.

The book's completeness also makes it a useful reference work, the only disadvantage being its occasional lack of lucidity. One very useful section is its overview of the situation in other West European countries, which gives the reader a useful framework within which to consider the problems in the Netherlands.

Van Ooijen's description shows how attitudes have changed over the decades. Caravan dwellers used to be regarded as a police problem, and until 1957, the Ministry of Justice was responsible for legislation pertaining to them. The fledgling Ministry of Social Work then took over, and, in keeping with the spirit of the age, they became a social problem. What Van Ooijen does not mention—but which was generally well-known in the new Ministry—is how keen the Ministry of Social Work was to expand its portfolio and how pleased Justice was to rid itself of this particular task.

In 1980, government responsibility for caravan dwellers moved again—this time to the ministry responsible for housing, reflecting the well-founded view that the welfare of special groups should be integrated as far as possible into general policy.

Over the years, public attitudes toward caravan dwellers have reflected a combination of good and evil intentions. During the German occupation, for example, caravan dwellers were forbidden to travel, most of them being forced together onto common sites (a crueler fate awaited the Romanies). Then in the

1960s, the government put all its efforts into the creation of large caravan centers, the good intention being that this would facilitate the provision of specially-targeted education and social welfare. Unfortunately, however, many smaller municipalities misused the large-center policy as a means of washing their hands of caravan dwellers.

Van Ooijen entered Parliament at a crucial time, during the debate on whether to switch from large centers back to small ones. He himself supported the large-center policy—with good intentions—until the authorities started forcibly towing caravans to large centers and problems began to arise from the concentration of groups and families who did not want to be together. I started working at the Ministry in 1973, just after the government, with Parliament's backing, had decided to reinstate small caravan centers.

I knew Van Ooijen as a conscientious and reasonable politician, with a critical approach to both the government and caravan dwellers. This is also the picture that emerges from his book. Once the government had started towing caravans, he abandoned his support for large centers. And in 1981, he launched a private member's bill to restrict the forcible towing of caravans, which became law.

Reading the book, I was pleasantly reminded of how Van Ooijen collaborated with another MP of a different political persuasion (there are no significant party differences on caravan dwellers policy) to help the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work—against the will of other ministries—to speed up the planning procedures for the building of small caravan centers.

Van Ooijen highlights the ambivalence of government policy on caravan dwellers over the years. On the one hand, the government has created a framework for caravan-dwelling; on the other, it is unwilling to recognize the evolution of this type of home into a structure standing semi-permanently in a caravan center, which makes the legal definition of "caravan" a fiction impossible to comply with.

At the same time, Van Ooijen states the view that if people want to live in a caravan, at least in the usual deviation from one that serves as a home, they should bear the ensuing extra costs themselves, since hardly any caravan dwellers are still dependent for their living on their caravan. This is an unambiguous point of view. However, the caravan-home, even in its deviant form, still has an emotional and social significance for many in the caravan-dwelling community.

This is a dilemma that will be with us for some time. In this book, Van Ooijen presents a well-informed and well-documented account of the reasons.

Gypsies and Travelers in North America: An Annotated Bibliography. *William G. Lockwood and Sheila Salo.* Cheverly, Maryland: Gypsy Lore Society, 1994. Publication No. 6. 196 pp. \$20.00 (paper). ISBN 0-9617107-5-6.

Gypsies: A Multidisciplinary Annotated Bibliography. *Diane Tong.* New York: Garland, 1995. Garland Reference Library of Social Science, Vol. 579. xviii, 399 pp. \$60.00 (cloth). ISBN 0-8240-7541-1.

Kathleen Hunter Rutter

These two recently published monographs effectively demonstrate the continued usefulness of printed bibliographies despite the current proliferation of library catalogs, electronic texts, and periodical indexes available online. While one is limited to North and Central America and the other emphasizes publications of only the past thirty years, both offer new material as well as listings of the traditional areas of strength in Gypsy studies: anthropology, sociology, folklore, and linguistics. Both also offer suggestions for pursuing bibliographic research and discuss the state of Gypsy studies in the academic community.

The scope of Lockwood and Salo's work as stated in their introduction is to provide all references through 1993 for North America, which "is here considered to include all territory in the western hemisphere north of Colombia...[and] Gypsies from North America traveling in other parts of the world" (p.10), as well as immigration history. Citations include printed or microform editions of books, journal articles, "published judicial opinions, most referring to appeals cases" (p.9), book reviews since 1914, writings on authors of Gypsy topics, unpublished dissertations, and some unpublished government reports. Explicitly excluded are newspaper articles, juvenilia, and fiction.

As a comprehensive bibliography, this work succeeds admirably, particularly given the sparsity of periodical indexes for 19th century American material. Entries from *Harper's*, the *National Police Gazette*, and the *Century Magazine* among others document vividly the attitude of the popular press towards Gypsies for the period of 1850–1920 even though the annotations are written so as to be as dispassionate as possible. Since the cutoff date for citations is quite close to the book's publication date, and given the delay in preparing material for periodical indexes, it is inevitable that some entries for 1991–1993 are lacking, but will be supplied in subsequent editions. The prospect of a future bibliography for newspaper articles is also a tantalizing one.

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The main body of the bibliography contains over 900 unnumbered entries, most of which are briefly annotated, as well as two appendices, "Inaccessible Unpublished Works and Phantom Citations" and "Some Bibliographies in Gypsy Studies." In the introduction, the history of Gypsy studies in the US is discussed, and the different groups of people referred to in the citations are classified by name along with some historical and linguistic background. The material is clearly arranged in alphabetical order by author and indexed by subject, ethnic group, geographical location, and the date of the event covered, which is often the date of publication.

Diane Tong's *Gypsies: A Multidisciplinary Annotated Bibliography* has broader geographical coverage than the Lockwood-Salo work and takes a more selective, critical approach with often lengthy annotations and provocative essays introducing each of the 21 chapters, containing a total of 1075 citations; an appendix of periodicals; and three indexes. The "general criteria for inclusion in this book were a synthesis of a representative range of work in each field, availability of the work, and usefulness. The works include 'scholarly' and 'popular' nonfiction from around 1960, when the present wave of international Romani activism began, through 1992, with some exceptions. There is an emphasis on works written in English." (p. xv). Some chapters include Arts, Health, History, Photography, Portrayal of Gypsies, and Psychology. Omitted are most works in German, Italian, and Eastern European languages. As both the citations and annotations are admittedly and intentionally evaluative and do reflect the author's political viewpoint, quickly targeting works perceived to be ethnocentric, sexist or racist, this work is bound to invite more controversy than *Gypsies and Travelers in North America*; but by focusing on certain areas not ordinarily given much coverage in previous Gypsy bibliographies, while continuing to cover traditional academic topics, Tong's book is a valuable tool which should prove equally helpful for the seasoned student of Gypsies as well as librarians and other educators who know little about the field but who are attempting to integrate Gypsy studies into library holdings and school multicultural curricula, or who are attempting to weed dated or misleading material from a library collection or course reading list. Chapters particularly relevant to this discourse include those on Women, Children, Education, Fiction, and Politics and Social Change. Naturally, it is the researcher's responsibility to evaluate any material described in a bibliography personally, but Tong alerts the reader to some useful topics for consideration, such as stereotypes and factual distortions.

Several historically significant works which fall outside of the chronological boundaries of this work have been also been included, such as linguistic works by Paspati and many literary fiction classics which contain passages about Gypsies. Several authors, most notably Borrow, have been omitted from the list of works although they are referred to in the annotations. Given the general audience for

which this book would be a useful reference work, it might be helpful to see a second edition expanded to include chapters on both the history of Gypsy studies and even more emphasis on popular culture.

Both of these works are useful resources for the scholar of Gypsy studies as well as reference and collections librarians and teachers working in more general disciplines. As a result of their different approaches to Gypsy bibliography they complement each other as well as other recently published bibliographies, such as the three works by Binns, Hohmann's *Neue deutsche Zigeuner Bibliographie*, the Hovens' *Zigeuners, Woonwagenbewoners en resenden* and Hancock's *World Romani Union: Gypsy Related Holdings*, which deal with other geographic areas and other languages of publication, or lack annotations.

Both also raise the question, partly by omission, of what constitutes a modern "bibliography" for want of a better term. If unpublished manuscripts are included, despite the difficulty of a researcher obtaining them, why not add ephemera and unpublished letters as well? If film reviews are to be included because they appear in the print media, why no reference to the film itself? The same question applies to music and the visual arts. With the advent of the digital library, should everything which can be cataloged also be considered for inclusion in a topical finding list?

Instead of being replaced by online library catalogs, one would expect to see future bibliographies giving summaries of various library holdings in a particular field and instructions for their access, as well as access to Internet resources, including electronic journals. Neither book discussed here mentions whether electronic journals have been included in selecting citations, although universities have begun expanding their faculty publication requirements to include such contributions.

These two bibliographies do justify their existence by providing information not otherwise readily available, by using very different approaches. *Gypsies and Travelers in North America: An Annotated Bibliography* is a comprehensive, well-organized finding aid with particular value in researching the 19th century. *Gypsies: A Multidisciplinary Annotated Bibliography* is a thought-provoking critical work covering a wide range of current political topics as well as traditional material. Both are important additions to the field of Gypsy studies.

Romany Children and Their Preparation for Literacy: A Case Study. *Hristo Kyuchukov*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press (P.O.Box 90153, 5000 LE, Tilburg, The Netherlands), 1995. x + 79 pp. (paper). ISBN 90-361-9984-0.

Victor A. Friedman

The European Union's funding in 1991 of a newsletter entitled *Interface* devoted to Romani education is symptomatic of the increased interest in Romani educational issues. In this context, the current case study of the preparatory education of Romani children in Bulgaria—a country outside the European Union and not represented in *Interface's* Ad Hoc Group—is particularly welcome.

The monograph is divided into three parts plus a preface (v), an introduction (vii–viii), appendices (69–74), and a bibliography (75–77) containing 49 items: 16 in Bulgarian, 15 in Hungarian, 9 in English, 5 in Russian, and one each in French, German, Greek, and Italian. The first part, Theoretical Backgrounds, comprises chapters on Romani origins (3–8), Romani education in selected European countries (9–27), and Romani education in Bulgaria (29–34). The second part, Case Study, is divided into two chapters on the psychological preparedness of 5–6-year-old bilingual children for learning to read and write (37–41) and testing the preparedness of Romani children in Bulgaria for these tasks (43–55). The final part, Conclusions, is a single chapter (59–66) consisting of methodological recommendations.

In his preface, Kyuchukov states that his purpose is to inform the reader about Romani language and education and to present his particular case study. The introduction gives a brief general picture of questions of literacy and standardization. Chapter One on Romani language and origins is basically sound but contains numerous errors and poor formulations. Thus, for example, we read on p. 3: "During the 11th century there were two Romany groups, 'ben' and 'phen'. The first group set out to Syria and the second to Armenia. The European Roms were called 'phen'." Kyuchukov is referring here to the word for 'sister' (*phen* in Armenian and European Romani, *ben* in Syrian Romani), which Sampson takes as emblematic in his division of Romani dialects according to their treatment of original Indic voiced aspirates. Unfortunately, Kyuchukov's presentation does not make this clear. The uncritical citation of the folk etymology *ek Gippe* 'from Gippe [a town in Greece]' as the source of the Romani association with Egypt (p. 4) should have been omitted. While some of Romani's most important borrowings from Greek are cited accurately on pp. 4–5, the category of gender is mistakenly listed among them. In fact Romani preserves its Indic heritage in this respect. The productivity of borrowed morphemes

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is by no means peculiar to Romani (p. 6), the presentation of two systems of Romani dialect classification cited on pp. 6–7 from Soravia (1984) and Ventcel' and Čerenkov (1976) consists of lists of names with no indications how these dialects are distinguished from or related to one another, and the comparison of sixteen Hindi and Romani words (pp. 7–8) illustrating the fact that Romani is an Indic language contains numerous errors even if one allows for the omission of diacritics (e.g., in the Hindi column *vu* 'earth' should be *bhu*, *gar* 'house' should be *ghar*, *bon* 'salt' should be *lon*, etc., and in the Romani column *fun* 'earth' should be *phuv*, *rum* 'tree' should be *ruk*). These shortcomings aside, the basic facts in this chapter are correct and the treatment of the difficult topic of Romani history is handled judiciously and with reliable dates.

Chapter Two mistakenly claims that "nowhere are they [the Romani people] recognized as minority groups" (p. 9). In the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, for example, the rights of the Romani people and their language are explicitly recognized together with other minorities. Kyuchukov gives figures for the number of Roms living in 26 European countries, but he gives no indication of the sources of his figures (p. 9). The figure of 260,000 for Macedonia is considerably at variance with the official figure of 43,732 from the preliminary results of the 1994 census, and even allowing for the fact that many Roms do not declare themselves as such it is even beyond the figures cited by Romani ethno-politicians in Macedonia itself. There follows a survey of Romani education in eight European countries: Austria, France, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, and the UK. The length of treatment varies from nine lines (Finland) to four pages (Hungary). The chapter concludes with six recommendations for improving Romani education (creating textbooks, training teachers, using mother-tongue education, etc.).

Chapter Three is expanded from Kjachukov (1992). Although it contains much useful information, it passes over in silence the severe discriminatory and assimilationist policies of the Bulgarian government during its attempt to create a mononational Bulgarian state between 1972 and 1985, with particular attention to the assimilation of Muslim Gypsies during 1982–83 (Rudin and Eminov 1993:51). The case study in Chapters Four and Five gives concrete questionnaire and test results together with statistical analyses for different groups of Romani children in kindergarten and in preparatory classes in Sofia and northeastern Bulgaria. (Unfortunately, the exact locations of the communities aside from the Sofia Christian Romani group are not specified.) The conclusions of Chapter Six include sample diagnostic tests for entrance level and at the end of the first and second semesters as well as several concrete suggestions for improving Romani education in Bulgaria. The appendices contain a questionnaire to be filled out by teachers and a Romani diagnostic test in three dialects labeled Kalderari, Sofia, and Northeastern.

The tests differ in some significant details from those published in Kjuchukov (1992).

This work is a valuable addition to the small but growing literature concerned with Romani education, and it is particularly important because it makes available in English both important new material and a study based in a country that does not often figure in "European" discussions. Kyuchukov is to be congratulated for taking such important steps to improve Romani education while at the same time providing valuable concrete data for scholars of education everywhere.

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Information for Contributors

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The Cock and the Hen: Metaphors of Sex and Fertility at Gitano Flamenco Fiestas

Caterina Pasqualino

In Andalusia, gitano men mostly devote themselves to singing, while women prefer dancing. During festivities they sensuously dance one after the other, encouraged by the men, who stand around them in a circle, singing and clapping their hands. Singing creates rivalry among young gitano men and reveals their feelings toward the women. The male singers are compared to cocks fighting one another in a ring, while the women are said to "play the hen," because of their provocative attitudes during the dance. I analyze the relation between the Andalusian Gypsies' interest in cockfights and the connotative meanings of dancing and singing as parts of a "love parade." In this context, the flamenco festivity seems to represent a ritual ceremony promoting fertility.

Cockfights

In an article published more than twenty years ago on Balinese culture, Clifford Geertz (1973) showed what a cockfight session could teach us about the organization of Balinese society. The present text does not attempt to go back to the terms of his study, but simply to show that cockfights also permit a social analysis in Andalusia's *gitano* communities. The symbolic importance of the cock has not yet been stressed enough. And yet I think that the cock is invested with the status of emblematic animal which, like the hedgehog (see Williams 1993 and Reyniers 1988), helps Gypsies to understand themselves.

This study is based on field research, 1990–1992, with a gitano community in Jerez de la Frontera, Spain. I was admitted to the community as a participant observer, but also used questionnaires to examine some aspects more closely.

Caterina Pasqualino, Laboratoire Anthropologie Institutions Organisations Sociales, CNRS, UPR 9037 Paris, France, recently earned the doctorate from the EHESS of Paris. Her dissertation, *Dire le chant: Anthropologie sociale des Gitans de Jerez de la Frontera, Andalousie*, is soon to be published by CISU, Rome.

Among other things, I collected 800 flamenco songs and compiled a lexicon of the *caló* terms still in use and a vocabulary of flamenco terms. My thesis develops from a global approach to gitano society and focuses on festivities, considered as particularly revealing for understanding the gitano way of life. Andalusian Gypsies living in Jerez de la Frontera are sedentary and assert they are the representatives of a new civilization. There are two main communities in Jerez, living in two different districts, Santiago and San Miguel, each insisting on its own particular identity.

Notes on the Breeding of Fighting Cocks

In Andalusia, cockfights, which are officially forbidden but nonetheless tolerated, attract many gitano aficionados who sometimes lay bets for considerable sums of money. Profit seems to be more a pretext for indulging a passion than a way of becoming rich or making their lives easier.

Those who go into cock breeding and sale are aficionados who are just a little more fervent than others. In the discussions I had with them, the concern for profit never came to the foreground. For example, this is the case of Enrique, a blacksmith who, in the past, owned a small cock farm. In his native town of Jerez de la Frontera in Andalusia, the terrace of his modest home had long been occupied by a henhouse where he bred fighting cocks of the *pollo ingles* breed, or "race." In his youth, at a time when he and his friends sought adventure and fortune, he tried to smuggle his cocks into France to sell them in Marseille for a high profit. The expedition was comical. Setting off each time for two days on a train loaded with some 25 cocks, he fooled customs officers when approaching the border by distributing his merchandise to country women traveling in compartments next to his. Each of them was rewarded with two pesetas. After crossing the border and arriving at Marseille, he met with a clientele of some 30 or 40 Moroccan gitanos wild about cockfights. These men would fight over his merchandise, paying fortunes for it. In his home town of Jerez, Enrique also sold his products to an airplane pilot who regularly flew to South America. The trafficking consisted of carrying eight cocks on each flight, which were bought for ten thousand pesetas each and resold for sixty thousand pesetas at the destination. Considering the profit, our blacksmith one day decided to go across the Atlantic to sell his cocks himself. In order to earn the necessary outlay, he tried to export horses for meat fraudulently. On his first attempt he was caught by customs officers and was forced to sell his horses at a low price at the border post of Figueras. His father, a blacksmith who was getting too old to continue his trade, called him back home, asking him to take over the family forge. Cock trafficking thus remained a dream for Enrique.

Apart from the spice of adventure, what fascinates breeders like Enrique is not so much the training of the cocks, but rather their role in reproduction. Gitano breeders have quite an original conception of reproduction, different from that of scientific genetics. For them, in order to obtain strong and brave cocks it is essential to be able to mate a cock with a hen to which it is strongly attracted. Only the mating of two specimens which are "in love" would be likely to breed a future champion. Luis S.:

The mating of the cock with the hen is an important matter. If a hen doesn't get along well with the cock, although the latter is pure [from the point of view of his race], [the chicks] will not be purebred. They will be even more purebred [literally, "they will have all the more race"] if the cock is in love with the hen and the hen with the cock. It's logical! A cock and a hen of the same race can correctly mate only once, not five times. [The result] will be seen when the chicks are adults. Put to the fight test, one will see whether a cock is the fruit of a good copulation or not. It is the birth certificate of a cock!¹

The first condition for getting a winner therefore is that it must be born from "love at first sight." The second condition is that the cockerel has to show a jealous character upon coming of age. His fighting spirit reveals itself by showing that he is ready to fight for a female. Later on, to win in the arena, he must be capable of having fits of rage. According to the Gypsies, his fits of rage will be provoked by a male competitor in the getting of a female. Juane P.:

Young cocks fight little and do not confront each other seriously as long as they haven't known the mating period. Cocks kill in order to be able to cover a hen, and for jealousy. Though the female is not present, they kill for her, the fight doesn't mean anything else. Cocks, like Moors, have five or six hens but they see that nobody else covers their hen.²

After the first mating period, the adult fighting cock has to preserve the qualities of its caste (*casta*) or of its race (*raza*), expressed in powerful sexuality and violent love affairs. The hens for which it will show most determination will be its females in title. Antonio C.:

The founder cock produces more semen. It seeks the hen. More love means more fertility. Isn't it the same thing as if it were a woman? You can make love with whom you want, but who knows you as well as your wife—nobody!³

For the aficionados, the caste of gallinaceans is not related to the purity of their lineage. On the contrary, in order to obtain what they consider a pure-caste cock (*pura casta*), breeders do their best to produce a good crossbreed. For them, a champion cock cannot be obtained from selection, in the scientific sense of the term, but results from the natural attraction of a male to a female. Manuel T. talked to me about his cocks in the following terms.

Crossbreeding produces a good stock. [The cock] which complains and goes around in circles has little breeding; the one which has good breeding goes forward. The well bred, noble cock is the one which gets along well with the hen, which is in love with her, because hens do not mate with just any cock.⁴

Antonio P., another gitano breeder, mentions the same criteria for obtaining what he calls a "good race" or a "good caste".

A good cock must be light, fast, it must have an iron spur and a good beak; having a good beak means biting, giving pecks and not sneaking away. Having a good race means quickness and race. This is the real fighting cock, the one which is given an iron spur to the leg. The one which goes around in circles is of bad caste. Seeking the hen which lives for the cock is how you build up a purebred. A pure hen must be in love with the cock. That way the crossbreeding is better done.⁵

The attention devoted to the love-making of gallinaceans is reflected in their common language. For the gitanos, the words cock and hen are indeed often associated with licentious talk and used as a hidden metaphor for human love. Here are a few examples. During an engagement, the engaged couple generally seclude themselves from the family for a little while in order to embrace. Commenting on this sudden disappearance, the guests make the following type of allusion. "Where are the fiancés? Over there, plucking the turkey."⁶

I was told by elderly people that, in old days, the engaged couple seeking privacy would indeed have been given a turkey for plucking, the aim being to provide the young couple with an opportunity to know one another while preserving the honor of their families. With the excuse of plucking the bird, it would theoretically have been impossible for them to embrace one another.

Poultry birds evoke concupiscence. In the everyday language, an easy woman is said to "play the hen," *gallinea*. In the same way, they say that a man shouldn't play the peacock. Juane C.:

Women should look disdainful, otherwise they are hens. They are immediately showing their ass. As to playing the farmyard peacock.... If I were displaying myself in order to get a woman to make love with me, I would be a peacock!⁷

Caste and Fecundity

These allusions to poultry birds are not simply lewd comments. To understand them, one has to go back for a moment to the meaning of the words "caste" and "race," which are used by Gypsy breeders when referring to their best fighting cocks.

According to Joan Corominas and Jose Pascual, the term *casta* originally did not refer to social castes, such as those of India, neither in Portuguese nor in Castilian. Asserting that several scholars have been misled by a purely phonetic

coincidence, they deny that *casta* can be derived from the Latin word *castus* which refers to sexual and moral purity (Corominas and Pascual 1980–1991:722). In reality, the etymology refers to notions linked with the propagation of the species. Originally, *casta* meant “animal species,” “race or lineage of men,” “class,” “quality or condition.” The word is common to the three Latin languages of the Iberian Peninsula, Catalan, Castilian and Galician-Portuguese. From the 15th to the 17th century, far from referring to purity, various authors use *casta* in relation to propagation of species, of plants, things, animals, or persons. In the common language of the Balearic Islands, *de casta forte* means “much,” and *fer casta*, literally “to make caste”, “to procreate.” The verb *castear* is used to refer to the cock’s covering the hen.⁸ The adjective *castiza* means “very fertile.” Deriving it from the Gothic word *Kasts*, which means “a brood of birds,” and the Castilian term *echadura* which refers to the hen sitting on her eggs to breed, the authors suggest that *casta* refers to “a brood of chicks.” Corominas and Pascual thus arrive at a meaning exactly opposite to the usually accepted etymology. Instead of associating *casta* exclusively with notions of purity and chastity, they give it the attributes of procreation. This latter meaning is especially interesting from the point of view we are dealing with, because it sheds light on the use gitano breeders make of the word. According to them, a *pura casta* cock not only is the fruit of the love mating of a cock and a hen, but also an animal capable of breeding numerous descendants.

Cock and Hen in the Flamenco Celebrations

It is striking to note that such a conception of fertility emerges in the flamenco celebration, or *juerga*, of which the cockfight appears to be a metaphor.⁹ More precisely, it is in singing and dancing that the gitano interest in cocks and hens takes on its whole meaning. Dancers and singers make many allusions to the behavior of the cock and the hen as they are described by breeders.

Before considering these aspects more in detail, it is certainly necessary to recall that Andalusian gitanos cannot imagine a gathering without dancing and singing. Flamenco is at the heart of any family celebration, be it an engagement, a wedding, a baptism or a first communion.¹⁰ It is strongly present at Christmas (*zambomba*) and Holy Week celebrations. It plays an essential role on less solemn occasions, such as birthday parties, the departure of a young man to military service, and all sorts of events which may occur in the course of everyday life. Whatever its object, each occasion unfolds according to an unchanging scheme. Festivities are begun by women at the beginning of the afternoon. Young people then come along, especially unmarried young men and women whose role it is to bring the celebration to a climax.¹¹ It is in the period between the beginning of the celebration and its

climax that gitanos refer more particularly to the cock and the hen, respectively associated with men and women.

Women soon create the atmosphere by urging one another to dance. They are also the first to sing. Their role is to "get the sound out," while crying out what in the beginning resembles babbling. The first words cried out by the women are addressed to young girls, to whom they recommend to get dressed up for their fiancés, and to the young men, whom they challenge in order to entice them to sing. For this they sometimes use the figure of the cock to whom they compare men. As an example, I noted the following series of exclamations:

¡Vamos allá! ¡Hi-Hi! ¡Chiquillos! ¡Callo real! ¡Los callos reales! ¡Güeno, gitanos, güeno! ¡El mejor de España! ¡España! ¡Manuel! ¡Mira! ¡Toma allá! ¡Viva nosotros! ¡Viva San Miguel! ¡Viva Jerez! ¡Hi-hi, hi-hi!

Let's go boys! Hi-Hi! King Gypsy! Royal cocks! It's good Gypsies! The best of Spain! Spain! Manuel! Look! Cheers for us! Cheers for San Miguel! Cheers for Jerez! Hi-Hi, hi-hi!

At this stage of the festivities, men, sometimes together with women, start singing a type of flamenco especially meant for dancing, the *bulería pa bailá*.¹² A man sings and invites a woman to dance. The *bulería pa bailá* requires much brilliance and an excellent physical condition. To dance it, one must be quick and expend a lot of energy, whereas to sing it, one must have a powerful voice and plenty of drive. In principle, all "couple" combinations are possible. A young man can sing to have an older woman dance but also for a friend; in the same way, an old man can sing for a young girl; a woman can start singing at the top of her voice for another woman's dance. Nobody is left out of these first festivities and it is most appreciated that the old ones participate from the beginning of the celebration. However, as they are less on the alert, way is given to the young singers and dancers. The guests expect them to perform a dazzling *bulería pa bailá* which will be the highlight of the starting celebration.

Boys and girls comply with all the more ardor as these amusements awaken burning passions in them. It is then indeed that many first loves are born or die. Each dancer recognizes in the singer who accompanies her a partner whose role is not without ambiguity. Through furtive glances both experience a very intense complicity.

When the guests have formed a circle, a man starts to sing. To invite a woman while singing, he fixes his gaze on her in a compelling manner or calls out directly to her. If the woman wishes to respond to the invitation, she comes out of the circle and dances to the center where she performs, depending on her character and mood, either a serious sequence or one of facetious movements. During the dancer's whole performance, the singer's eyes are fixed upon her. When the two get along particularly well, the dancer eggs her partner on with a luring, sensual gaze. At the

end of the dance, which is never very long—only a few minutes—one of two situations may occur. The same singer may invite another woman to dance, proceeding as previously mentioned, while fixing her eyes. The woman then accepts or refuses the challenge. Alternatively, at the end of the song, the same woman remains in place, but a second singer quickly replaces the first one. This time the woman is free to accept or refuse the challenge. If she appears conquered, the first singer may try to get back his privileges as soon as possible, sometimes after only a few dance steps. The first and the second singer may then compete. At this point, the guests assembled in a circle immediately understand that the two men are seeking the favors of the same woman.

At this stage the reference to cock fighting takes on all its meaning. On these occasions, the singers clearly have to “play the cock.” Some singers will express this identification by including a few “kikiriki” (cock-a-doodle-do) in their song. Here is an example in which a man says that he deserted the army to meet his lover again in Morocco.

Ya se marchan pa la guerra
Already they go off to the war

Que yo me marcho pa Tetuan
I am going off to Tetouan

Que yo me marcho pa Tetuan
I am going to Tetouan

Que busco a una prima hermana
To look for a cousin

Que esperandito, esperandome está
Who is waiting for me, she waits for me

Que esperandito, esperandome está
Who is waiting for me, she waits for me

Ay, kirikikí, que me voy a caer
Ay, cock-a-doodle-do, how I am falling down

Ay, kirikikí, que estoy malita del pie
Ay, cock-a-doodle-do, how my foot is hurting

Ay, kirikikan, que me voy a caer
 Ay, cock-a-doodle-do, how I'm falling down

In Spain, the association of men with the cock is generally rather flattering. In Castilian, it is current to say of an authoritarian man that he is "like a cock." But for the gitanos, comparing singers with cocks has specific implications. The confrontations of men through their song are moments which the audience perceives as "cockfights." It is already significant that spaces associated with cockfights are often used for celebrating the most important of their occasions, the wedding. But wherever the celebration may take place, guests form tight circles. They thus reconstitute the shape of the small arenas with wooden tiers used for cockfights. At that point, gitanos conceive of the singers—of whom they say that they are like "cocks of a pure caste and race"—as fighting cocks. As the rivalry of cocks is aroused by the presence of the hens, young men are aroused by the presence of the young women who are dancing in front of them. However, if the song competitions can be compared to cockfights, it is less because men are singing like cocks than because they are fighting for the same reason. Like cocks, the men fight to preserve their privileges in relation to the women.

The Wedding Parade of the Hen

Women express themselves in the dance, while men expend their energy by singing. Most of the time, the *bulería* allows only one dancer at a time and improvisation plays an important part. The dancer's gestures are generally very sensual. As gitanos say themselves, "There is much flirting in the *bulería*."¹³ An audience of novices may find it shocking.

In the spring of 1992 when a scandal broke out during the annual fair in Seville, one of the most famous *ferias* in Andalusia. During the festivities, many Sevillian families rent a stand (*caseta*) which they fit out like a private club for the duration of the fair. To entertain themselves and their guests, they organize mini-recitals of gitano flamenco music and dance. That year, the Universal Exhibition of 1992 (Expo) took place at the same time. Consequently the French Government decided to mark its presence by renting a stand and sponsoring a "fiesta flamenca" by gitanos. The representatives of the French Ministry of Culture invited four little gitano girls to give several dance performances. But, when the Sevillian bourgeoisie discovered the performance, there was an immediate uproar. To them the little girls who moved their pelves and lifted their skirts in a provocative manner could only be prostitutes exposing themselves in a perverted performance. The local press agreed.

Is it necessary to point out that the little girls were perfectly innocent. For them, as for their families, these dances were harmless and "natural." In gitano

communities, for example at celebrations of first communions, these words are sung to little girls not much older than ten:

Mira como ronea
See how she is flirting with the fiancé

Delante el novio, pa que la vea.
So that he looks at her.

Hearing these words, the children imitate their elders while making the same provocative gestures.

Bulería dancing is an occasion for a certain permissiveness where each dancer tries to charm, most of the time with great mischievousness. In the *bulería pa bailá*, women carry out dance movements intended to charm the men around them, particularly the singer who invited them to dance. Garments play a major part in this seduction play. On such occasions, gitano women wear low-necked dresses, close-fitting at the hips but with a piece of material falling freely on the legs. This wide piece of fabric enables them to tuck their dresses up audaciously, showing their thighs. Sometimes they use their skirts to make gestures imitating bullfighters' movements, as the bullfighter plays with his cape at the beginning of the bullfight in order to tease the bull. The erotic provocation of the female dancers can go quite far. They take, for example, their apron in one or both hands, present it to the public, swing it with ostentation, lift it up to show their belly. Women play this game with jubilation; all of them, with no exception, from the shyest who remain shut away in their homes, to the grandmothers. During festivities, the latter especially become exaggeratedly lascivious. It seems that their age gives them the right to any audacity. Sensual quivers accompany their swaying dance and they shamelessly hitch up their aprons and skirts, showing their underwear. When they are overexcited, they sometimes even expose themselves inside the dance circle displaying their breasts to the audience.

It must however be stated that the attitudes adopted during these festivities do not reflect the normal moral standards of the community. The stranger who judges a pretty gitano girl dancing around a campfire or on a makeshift platform to be an easy woman will be deluded. The eroticism shown in the dance reflects in no way the everyday life of the gitanos. The Gypsy woman usually is a model of reserve and dignity. She has no other choice. Husbands are extremely jealous. Many keep a close eye on the comings and goings of their wives and daughters, and some do not even allow them to go out or to talk to a man who is not a member of their family. It must thus be clearly pointed out that the explosion of sensuality of gitano women in their dances is strictly limited to the context of the feast, during which the woman dancer is always surrounded by members of her family.

Gitanos are of course quite conscious of the gap between the austerity imposed upon their women in everyday life and the liberties they take during the feasts. Husbands and brothers, however, do not interfere while their wives and sisters are exposing themselves with extreme sensuality in front of other men, even if they are tortured by jealousy, or if they claim to have exclusive rights to a beloved woman. Says Enrique,

Jealousy means that I am in love with you and you don't want to hear anything about me because you're in love with another. Jealousy means that I want to talk to that woman. At this very moment, we are in a flamenco occasion, you know how to dance and I love you. You're not dancing with me, but with another man: I become jealous.¹⁴

For young women, the dance is a sort of love parade, whereas for the other women it is a good occasion to satisfy a sensuality which is usually restrained. The very special atmosphere which prevails during the celebration gives the dance the timelessness of ritual. The permissiveness is of a nature that transcends everyday life. The dance allows a subtle passage from mere secular festivity to behavior which is so far apart from the normal standards that it is not incongruous to consider it as "sacred." This explains why, despite the usual austerity of gitano morals, when excitement is at its climax the erotic games of the women can be pushed very far without harming their reputation.

It is in this ritual context that the dancer, in answer to the cock songs of the men, is encouraged to "play the hen" (*hacer la gallina*). In the flamenco dance, this expression refers to the fact of stretching out in ever more arched postures, and of bowing the head until the knees are touched. This posture is considered as particularly erotic.

During the festivities, not only does it happen that a dancer "plays the hen," but also that she dances together with a man to mimic coition. For this, a man joins the woman at the center of a circle of guests and pretends to pursue her, while pointing a finger under his shirt to represent his penis, whereas the woman runs away with suggestive forward and backward movements of the pelvis. The gitanos then say that the hen is covered by her cock. The woman dancer then sometimes urges the audience, who are clapping hands, to accelerate the pace. Like a hen fluttering her wings, her arms to the sky, she repeatedly opens and closes the palms of her hands, indicating that the sexual act has been consummated.

This exceptional sequence must be interpreted in relation to fertility. Gitanos assert that singing has fertilizing qualities. To indicate that the singer Mairena¹⁵ altered the songs collected in Jerez while impoverishing them, gitanos from this town told me that he "castrated" them. More crudely, gitanos say that he "took away their balls."¹⁶ On the other hand, the sound given out by good gitano singers would be loaded with a fertilizing substance. Produced in their

“entrails,” it would be hurled out of the body by the breath and could thus reach the “womb” of the women. This fertilizing power of the male song is confirmed by women. They say that the song of their husband has indeed the power of making them pregnant. The words of the songs also contain allusions to this belief. Thus, in the following verses, pregnant women are described as being “full of wind.”

Ay, como los globitos son las mujeres
Ay, like balloons are the women

Ay, son las mujeres
Ay, are the women

Se llenan de viento
They fill themselves with wind

Cuando ellas quieren.
When they want.

We can thus assert that when a dancer “makes the hen” while rounding her back, she behaves as if she were performing a wedding parade. She dances in the middle of a circle of guests among whom are the male singers, who are compared to cocks. When they sing, they are said by gitanos to “fly” (*vuelan*). On a ritual plane, they “fly” like cocks do during copulation, and free from their entrails a fertile substance, the sound, which, according to the gitanos, has the power to impregnate the women.

On the other hand, when Andalusians want to refer to a cock covering a hen, they use the verb *pisar*. Now they use the same word to refer to the woman’s “treading” (*pisa*) upon the soil while dancing. Bringing together the two meanings of the verb *pisar*, “to cover” and to “tread upon,” suggests that the flamenco dance, as an ensemble of movements essentially related to the undulations of the pelvis and to treading upon the soil, is the call of the women to encourage the “sound-semen” to be given out by the men and to come down into their womb to fertilize them.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to come back to the interpretation proposed by Clifford Geertz. This author showed us that cockfights in Bali were much more than a cruel entertainment. In his analysis, he takes us back to considerations of a social order, which, in the case he describes, reveal an aspect of the village organization of the Balinese. I hope I have shown here that the passion of the gitanos for cockfights reveals concerns that are also related to a better understanding of their

society. In this case, Andalusian Gypsies interpret the fighting of cocks as an exacerbation of love passions and beyond that, an exaltation of fertility. It is thus possible to assert that, by putting themselves on stage during their feast, as in a cockfight, the gitanos are recalling values which are essential to the preservation of their community. It would be interesting to see whether this interpretation is shared by other gitano communities.

Notes

Acknowledgment. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference of the Gypsy Lore Society, Leiden, Netherlands, May 1995.

¹La del enamoramiento del pollo con las gallinas es importante. Una gallina que no liga, siendo puro el gallo, no sale raza. Más raza sale si el gallo está enamorado de la gallina y la gallina del gallo. ¡Es matematico! Con el mismo gallo y con la misma gallina de la misma raza puedes ligar una y cinco no. Esto se puede saber cuando son los hijos grandes. Peleando se ve si la gallina ha ligado o no. ¡Una partida de nacimiento al gallo!

²Los pequeños todavía no tienen celo y por esto combaten poco, no se afrontan de verdad. Los gallos matan por pisar la hembra, por celo. Aunque no esté la hembra, ellos matan por ella, el combate no tiene otro significado. Los gallos, como los Moros, tienen cinco o seis gallinas y no quieren que ninguno les pise la gallina suya.

³El gallo de casta produce más sustancia. Se huye contra la gallina. Más amor quiere decir más fertilidad. ¿No es lo mismo que si fuera su mujer? Tu puedes hacer el amor con quien quieres, pero, como te conoce tu mujer...¡nadie!

⁴Mezclar quiere decir dar buena raza. El que se duele y da vueltas es de poca raza; el que tiene casta: va "p'alante." Un pollo de raza es el que liga bien con la gallina, que está enamorado: porque no todas las gallinas mezclan con todos los gallos.

⁵Un gallo bueno tiene que ser ligero, rápido, que meta la pulla, que tenga buena boca; buena boca es morder, dar picotazos y no soltar. Tener raza, rapidez, y raza: esto es el verdadero gallo de pelea que mete la pata con la pulla. El que da vueltas tiene mala casta. Buscar la gallina que vive por el gallo, así se hace la raza pura. Una gallina pura que está enamorada del pollo. Así se hace mejor la mezcla.

⁶¿Dónde están los novios? Allí pelando la pava.

⁷Las mujeres tienen que mirar con desaffo, si no son gallinas. Dan el culo de momento. Hacer el pavo del corrá... ¡Si yo estaría dando vueltas para que una mujer haga el amor conmigo, sería un pavo!

⁸Cubrir el gallo a la gallina.

⁹It is significant that during all flamenco occasions—called *juergas* in Spanish—at a late hour of the night, a chicken broth with mint is served to the guests: it is meant to give everybody new strength in order to revive festivities. It is also remarkable that during the celebrations preceding Christmas in Andalusia (the *zambombas*), as the following song (a *villancico*) indicates, the cock appears as an emblematic offering to child Jesus in the name of the community. “We are Gypsies / and we have come here from Egypt / and to the God child we bring / a cock, cock-a-doodle-do.”

¹⁰According to José Carlos de Luna “an atavistic instinct drives the Andalusian gitanos to refuse both the name and the adjective *flamenco*, although a lot of *tablaos* professionals actually accept it without knowing its original meaning, and some of them even use it with a sort of ignorant emphasis, thus increasing the impertinence with which they consider the wonderful musical folklore of Andalusia” (Luna 1981 [1951]:143). A great number of other authors have investigated the etymology of the word flamenco. According to Infante (1980), it probably comes from the Arabic *falah* and *menga*, meaning respectively “peasant” and “deserter.” Molina and Mairena (1979:18-21) emphasize that the term has been connected with the Andalusian gitanos only since 1836. García Matos (1987) remarks that from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th, *flamenco* was a slang word meaning “impudent braggart, pretentious boaster,” etc. Andalusian people still use it in this sense at times. But *flamenco* also means Flemish, at least in the Castilian dialect. Although the gitanos never went across Belgium or the Netherlands, this connection is undoubtedly interesting. Leblon (1990:123) writes

A document from the register of the population of Alcalá la Real shows that in 1626 various gitano families were authorized to settle wherever it suited them and devote themselves to trading at markets and fairs, in spite of the fact that this type of activity was normally forbidden to gitanos. This special treatment came as a sort of reward for the services rendered by these families during the Flemish war in the company of captain Alonzo de Tauste, belonging to the regiment of Agustín Mejía (translation mine).

According to the Maraval dictionary the second meaning of the term *flamenco* is “everything that can be connected with the gitano world in Andalusia.” One of the most distinctive features of the Andalusian gitanos is their way of singing and dancing. Music is a relevant aspect of their life. Their musical repertoire is nevertheless considered as mere folklore, with the exception of a few fundamental studies demonstrating its actual richness and complexity. In these works, by the way, the gitano contribution to flamenco is minimized. In some cases flamenco is simply considered a product of non-Gypsy, not gitano, culture. There are, however, important differences between gitano and non-Gypsy flamenco performance. For example, non-Gypsy flamenco songs are more melodious than gitano ones. Generally

speaking, gitanos prefer deep voices to high ones and all the great singers do their best to produce a hoarse tone. Elderly male singers are more likely to reach the right tone and are therefore considered the best flamenco interpreters. Andalusian gitanos say that only a hoarse, "ancient" voice can express wisdom and truth, and this is more likely to happen when the singer is old. On the one hand, flamenco plays an important role in the gitanos' acceptance of non-Gypsy culture; on the other, it seems to mark the difference between the two worlds, between gitanos and non-gitanos. It has often been used, for example, in recent political claims of gitano ethnic identity.

¹¹For an interesting analysis of the roles of gitano men and women in the flamenco celebration, see Mulcahy 1974.

¹²The *bulería* is a type of flamenco song. The etymology of the word is uncertain. Rodríguez Marín says the term comes from *burlería* 'mockery'; others maintain that it derives from *bulo* 'humbug' (Molina and Mairena 1979:258). Molina emphasizes that in caló, *bul* means 'rear end, bum.' According to Ríos Ruiz the word comes from *bulliciosa*; a song is said to be *bulliciosa* when it is loud and noisy. All these hypotheses are based on the consideration that the *bulería* is a kind of song typical of festivities such as marriages, christenings, etc. Both the non-Gypsies and the gitanos of Andalusia agree that the Gypsies of Jerez are the best *bulería* dancers. The words of this type of song are often ironic, but the subjects are not always gay. Even extremely sad words can be sung to a merry tune. There are two kinds of *bulería*. One is meant for mere listening (*bulería pa escuchar* or *bulería por solea*) and is slower; it is usually sung at the end of a celebration, late at night, and is not accompanied by dancing but by a sort of dull hand-clapping. The second is generally associated with a more festive atmosphere and is accompanied by rapid hand-clapping and by verbal encouragements (*jipios*) of the dancers and singers. It is called *bulería* for dancing (*bulería pa bailar*) or *bulería de Santiago*, from the name of the gitano district of Jerez where it arose. According to Ríos Ruiz (1972:85), the Gypsies living in Jerez spread the *bulería* outside their community in 1870.

¹³La bulería tiene mucho roneo.

¹⁴Los celos, es que yo estoy enamorado de ti y tú no quieres ná conmigo y quieres a otro. Los celos, es que yo le quiero hablar a esta mujer. Ahora mismo estamos en una fiesta flamenca y tú sabes bailá y yo te quiero a ti. Tú conmigo no bailas y con aquel sí: ya te tomo celos.

¹⁵Antonio Mairena was born at the beginning of the century. From one village to another, collecting songs from the old gitanos (*gitanos viejos*), he contributed to the preservation and diffusion of flamenco songs and dances. Mairena is also considered one of the most important flamenco singers of the century, although

many gitanos do not like him and his academic voice. The gitanos from Jerez still speak of him bitterly; they have the feeling that he has stolen their songs to become rich and famous.

¹⁶Quitar los huevos al cante.

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Romani and the Census in the Republic of Macedonia

Victor A. Friedman

The extraordinary 1994 census in the Republic of Macedonia represented the first time that Romani was used as one of the languages of official Macedonian government documents. As such, the language of these documents represents a significant stage in the process of the standardization of Romani for use in the Republic of Macedonia. Moreover, the language of these documents shows considerable progress in the direction of a consistent norm, based primarily on the Arli dialect of Skopje. The article gives selected census figures connected with Romani language and nationality and discusses the linguistic features of the Romani census forms in the context of the progress towards a consistent Romani standard.

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0. Introduction

In June-July 1994, at the behest of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) and under the sponsorship of the Council of Europe, an extraordinary census was carried out in the Republic of Macedonia. This was the first census taken after Macedonia became an independent country. The political conditions that led up to this event are beyond the scope of this article, but have been discussed elsewhere (Friedman 1996a). Of significance for this article is the fact that in accordance with article 35 of the much-debated special law that governed the operation of that census, Romani, together with Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Arumanian, and Serbian (the former Serbo-Croatian), was one of the six official languages in which the census was conducted. Romani was recognized as an official minority language in the 1991 Macedonian constitution insofar as the Romani people are explicitly named as a nationality of Macedonia in the constitution's preamble and Article Seven of that document guarantees nationality language rights. Nonetheless, the published materials connected with the 1994 census represent the first official use of Romani in Macedonian government documents, and they are thus intimately connected with the standardization of Literary Romani in that country. My paper will discuss the language of the census documentation in the context of Romani language standardization in the Republic of Macedonia. These documents show the increasing emergence of the Arli dialect of Skopje as the base of the standard language with certain compromises made in the direction of other dialects.

Beginning with the publication of Jusuf and Kepeski's *Romani gramatika* (1980), there have been sporadic efforts concerning the standardization of Romani for use in Macedonia, and since the Republic of Macedonia declared independence in 1991 there has been a significant increase in such activities.¹ In November 1992 a conference was sponsored by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Macedonia for introducing Romani as a subject of study in elementary schools (Friedman 1995), and since November 1993 an independent Romani language newspaper *Romano Sumnal* 'Romani World' edited by Oskar Mahmut has appeared thrice (17 November 1993, 10 December 1993, 1 April 1994; see

Friedman 1996b). There have also been other publications in Romani in the Republic of Macedonia, such as translations of Macedonian literature, e.g. Petrovski (1989, 1992). Romani is used in radio and television broadcasting—both private and state-sponsored—and it has been used in both film and drama, but this has not resulted in a published written record. A textbook by Šaip Jusuf for teaching Romani as a language of study at the third grade level was officially published and announced to the public on 8 April 1996, but its release was delayed due to financial complications. The census materials were thus one of the few official uses of Romani to which large numbers of native speakers could be exposed at the time.

I should note here that complete and final figures on the number of people choosing to be censused in Romani, as well as those declaring Romani as their mother tongue were not yet available as of June 1996. The preliminary 1994 figure for those declaring Romani as their nationality (Romani *nacionalikano priperipe*, Macedonian *nacionalna pripadnost*) was 43,732, or 2.3% of the total population of 1,936,877 (*Nova Makedonija* 15 October 1994, p.1). However, mother tongue and nationality do not represent a one-to-one correspondence, as demonstrated by the fact that *Muslim* is a nationality category but not a linguistic one.² In some locations people with Romani as their native language chose to be censused in another language, usually Macedonian. Nonetheless, according to informal reports large numbers of Romani speakers at least in Western Macedonia—which is where ethnic and nationality issues are particularly sensitive—chose to be censused in Romani.³ This accords with my own observations during the census.⁴

The census materials that constitute the basis of this study consist of a 100-page instruction manual for census takers and three census forms—one for each individual, one for each household, and one for agricultural holdings—consisting of 6, 13 and 4 pages, respectively, for a total of 123 pages. In the case of the census forms, all questions were bilingual, with Macedonian first and Romani second. The instruction manual was entirely in Romani but translated from the Macedonian original by Šaip Jusuf and Mehmed Nedžad. Owing to the nature of the material, the linguistic data here is of a very particular type, since it represents a specific level of bureaucratic and professional terminology seeking to project an image of complete neutrality. Thus, for example, there are no first or second person verb forms in the entire corpus. All instructions refer to the census taker and the censused persons, and thus all verb forms are third person active, passive or middle. Similarly, the vocabulary itself has a high proportion of words not occurring in everyday conversation.

In the exposition which follows, I shall examine some of the most salient linguistic features of the census documents in the context of earlier relevant literary documents, viz. Jusuf and Kepeski (1980) and *Romano Sumnal* as treated in

Friedman (1985 and 1996b, respectively). Wherever possible, reference will be made to the relevant sections of those articles. A complete analysis of the language of the census documents is beyond the scope of this paper, but those features focused on are symptomatic of the broader concerns of Romani language standardization in the Republic of Macedonia. These features demonstrate that the normativization of a Romani standard in the Republic of Macedonia is making consistent and perceptible progress.

1. Orthography and Phonology

1.01. Orthography and Typography

The orthography of the Romani census forms is the Latin-based one generally in use in Eastern Europe and elsewhere (cf. Kenrick 1981, Hancock 1995). In general the quality of typesetting and proofreading was good, although there were occasional careless slips, e.g. *majmut* for *majbut* 'more', some inconsistencies in word divisions, e.g. *nadžanela*, *omanuš* for *na džanela* 'does not know', *o manuš* 'the person', some pronunciation-influenced spellings, e.g. *anaf*, *čhip* for *anav* 'name', *čhib* 'language', where final devoicing occurs in some dialects under Macedonian influence. But the Romani norm is already sufficiently established that these spellings can be identified as mistakes rather than variants. Similarly, the occasional spelling *phvuv* for *phuv* 'earth' represents an Arli dialectal pronunciation (aspirated voiceless bilabial stop > voiceless bilabial affricate). On the whole, the orthography of the census forms showed a significant consistency (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.0, 1996b:§1.01).

1.02. Schwa

The position of schwa in standard Romani is still a subject of dispute; this is especially so in Macedonia, where schwa is a marginal phoneme in all the Romani dialects and generally occurs in loan words. Jusuf and Kepeski (1980) proposed the symbol <ä>, but this has not been widely adopted. The census forms vary among three solutions, all of which also occur in Macedonian. The prescribed Macedonian representation for schwa is an apostrophe, and this is used in the Romani forms such as *s'ra* 'column'. Despite this prescription, however, in the Macedonian press there are occasions where schwa will simply be omitted, generally when followed by a sonorant, and the same phenomenon occurs in the Romani census form in items such as *jardmi* 'help' (< Turkish *yardım*), *gndinela* 'think' (3 sg.) (< Romanian *gînd*). In the case of the triplet *haz'rdipel/hzrdipel/hazardipe* 'preparation' (< Turkish *hazır* 'ready') we have in the first instance the standard Macedonian-type solution, in the

second a leveling of both vowels to schwa with zero orthographic indication, and in the third the standard Macedonian treatment based on the west central dialects (schwa > /a/) (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.1, 1996b:§1.02).

1.03. Dental and Palatal Jotation

The census forms show considerably more consistency in the treatment of palatalized dentals and fronted velars than previous efforts. Thus, for example, velar plus front vowel is consistently rendered as such: *čhavage* 'children' (dat.), *khere* 'at home'. There is some variation in the representation of jotted dentals, although certain principles are discernible. Thus, for example, the substantive *buti* 'work' has oblique forms *bukjake* (dat.), *bukengoro* (gen.) while the participle *dendo* 'given' has 3 sg. aor. *dengja*, 3 pl. aor. *dende*. The middle verb *mothovgjol* 'declare' (< -thov-d-) has 3 sg. aor. *mothovgja* and 3 pl. aorist *mothovge*. In the case of the substantive, jotation is indicated throughout the oblique stem by spelling with a velar and the use of <j> before a back vowel, in the aorist forms, however, the underlying dental sometimes appears (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.4, 1996b:§1.03).

1.04. Jotation in Feminine Substantives

Certain oblique feminine stems in Romani are jotted in some dialects but not in others. The census materials are consistent in their use of the non-jotted forms of these nouns, e.g. *čhibakiri*, 'language' (gen.), *čhiba* 'languages' (cf. Friedman 1985:§2.1, 1996b:§1.04).

1.05. The Treatment of /j/

The census materials show much greater consistency than previous efforts in the differentiation /j/ and /i/, i.e. writing <j> for the glide and <i> for the vowel, as in the following examples: *šaj* (only rarely *šai*) 'it is possible', *duj* 'two', *dujto* 'second', *sajbije* 'owner', *haibe* 'food', *leibe* 'permission'. For the instrumental singular, which consistently shows the Arli form, <j> is written only when the preceding vowel is not front, e.g. *lilea* 'sheet, form' (instr.), *čhibaja* 'language' (instr.). In the case of *tejsi* (< *te isi* 'if it is'), we seem to have a specific orthographic contraction (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.3, 1996b:§105).

1.06. The Oppositions h/x

As was recommended at the 1992 codification conference (Friedman 1995), there is no graphic representation of the opposition between uvular /x/ and glottal

/h/, which occurs in some Romani dialects but is absent in the Arli dialect and does not go back to an original distinction in the parent language. In the census materials only <h> is used: *haibe* 'eating', *haljovela pes* 'it is understood', *hramonela pes* 'is written', etc. (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.2, 1996b:§1.06).

1.07. Clear vs Palatal /l/

A considerable advance has been made in the representation of clear /l/, which, as in Macedonian, is automatic before front vowels. In previous documents, the digraph <lj> was used for both palatal /l/ before back vowels and inconsistently for clear /l/ before front vowels. In the census materials, the digraph /lj/ is used only before back vowels: *lil* 'sheet, form', *lela* 'take', *džanglja* 'known' (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.5, 1996b:§1.08).

1.08. Aspiration

Romani aspirated consonants do not occur word finally and before another consonant, so a question of Romani orthography is whether or not to represent underlying aspiration in environments where it is neutralized. The census materials are consistent in not representing underlying aspiration in environments of neutralization, but occasionally fail to indicate aspiration when it should be spelled: *dikkeribe* 'examination', *dikhibe* 'viewing', but *mothovgja* 'declared' vs *motovgjol* 'declares'; *mukhibaja* vs *mukibaja* 'with permission' (cf. Friedman 1996b:§1.09).

1.09. The Treatment of Intervocalic and Final -s- in Inflections

In general intervocalic and final inflectional /s/ is lost in the Arli dialects of Macedonia, e.g. in the instr. sg., acc. anim. sg., 3 sg. aor., etc. The census materials are quite consistent in using the Arli forms, e.g. *čhibaja* 'language' (instr.), *lilea* 'sheet, form' (instr.), *kerija* 'did' (3 sg. aor.), *manuše* 'person' (acc.), but the 3 sg. reflexive pronoun, which also functions as an intransitive marker as in Macedonian, does show variation between Arli and non-Arli forms, e.g. *hramonela pelpes* 'it is written' (cf. Friedman 1985:§1.3, 1996b:§1.10).

1.10. Instrumental Plural (n+s at Morpheme Boundaries)

The change of /s/ to /c/ after /n/ at the morpheme boundary in the instr. pl. is consistently spelled: *manušencar* 'person' (instr. pl.) (cf. Friedman 1996b:§1.11).

1.11. Monosyllabic Preposition + Definite Article

Romani has a number of monosyllabic prepositions that normally occur with the definite article. In some orthographies the article is separated from the preposition by an apostrophe or a hyphen, but in the census materials the two morphemes are consistently spelled together: *ki Republika Makedonija* 'in the Republic of Macedonia', *avazijale taro dženo 6* 'in accordance with article 6', *bičhaldo pi buti* 'sent to work'. The preposition *baš-* 'for', which sometimes behaves like a monosyllabic preposition, is lexicalized in the census documents as *baši*: *karana baši i prezencija* 'reason for presence', *mukibaja baši o ačhovibe* 'with permission for residence' (Friedman 1985:§2.3, 1996b:§1.12).

2. Morphology

2.01. The Shape of Nominative Third Person and Possessive Pronouns and the Nominative Plural Definite Article

The third person pronouns and definite articles are all consistently Arli: *ov*, *oj*, *ola*, *plo ple*, *o manuša* 'he, she, they, their (masc.), their (obl.), the people' (Friedman 1985:§§2.3, 2.4, 1996b:§§2.01, 2.02).

2.02. Comparatives and Superlatives

The census materials show an attempt to integrate Arli and non-Arli forms in their use of comparatives. While the superlative is indicated by the Arli prefix *em-* (of Turkish origin), the comparative uses both *po-* (of Macedonian origin) and *maj-* (of Romanian origin), this latter being able to mark both the comparative and the superlative in Vlax dialects: *pobut* 'more', but also *majbut*, e.g. *1 berš thaj majbut* '1 year and over', *majhari* 'less', *majsereki* 'more rare', *emtikno* 'smallest', *emuči* 'highest' (Friedman 1985:§2.2, 1996b:§2.08).⁵

2.03. Case Usage after Prepositions

The census materials show a mix of oblique case forms and nominative case with and without an additional preposition after certain prepositions of adverbial origin, e.g. *avrijal e phuvjatar* and *avrijal tari phuv* and *avrijal i phuv* all meaning 'outside the country'. From a dialectal point of view, Džambaz favors oblique case usage and Arli favors the more analytical nominative usage, but clearly this is an area in which the compilers of the census materials felt free to use variation.

2.04. Agreement Interference

In some instances, the materials show interference from Macedonian that has implications for the inflectional system. One such instance was in the use of adjectives borrowed from Macedonian, where Macedonian plural *-i* and feminine *-a* inflectional endings were used instead of the native Romani *-e* and *-i*, respectively: e.g. *taro privatnikani karang* 'for private reasons' (Macedonian *od privatni pričini*), *kvalitetna evidentija* 'qualified documentation' (Macedonian *kvalitetna evidenicia*).

2.05. Genitives

The language of the census materials shows a preference for preposed long genitives: *pretprijatengere bujakere ranika* 'business unit of the enterprise', *avrijal phuvjakoro manuš so dela buti* 'foreign employer', *Republika Makedonijakere raštrale oficijalnikane dživdipaskere thanea ki akaja adresa* 'citizen of the Republic of Macedonia with official place of residence at this address'. On the rare occasion of a postposed genitive, the long form is still used, e.g. *butikeribe e manuškoro so paravela ple familija ki Republika Makedonija* 'employment of the person who supports his family in the Republic of Macedonia' (cf. Friedman 1985:§2.3, 1996b:§2.03).

2.06. Abstract Nominal Derivation

The census forms seemed to follow a consistent policy of using *-be* to derive abstract nouns from verbal stems and *-pe* to derive abstract nouns from non-verbal stems, thus assigning morphological functions to these two variants. Some examples are given here:

Deverbal abstract nouns: *leibe* 'receipt', *bijanibe* 'birth', *deibe* 'giving', *butikeribe* 'employment', *pučhibe* 'question', *peribe* 'completion', *dikhibe* 'vision', *kamibe* 'desire', *haibe* 'eating', *mothovibe* 'declaration', *avibe* 'arrival', *džaiibe* 'going', *bešibe* 'stay', *ačhovibe* 'residence, sojourn', *polagibe* 'passing [an exam]' (from Macedonian *polaganje*), *specijaliziribe* 'advanced study', *registriribe* 'census'.

Non-deverbal abstract nouns: *raštralipe* 'citizenship', *hazardipe* 'preparation', *avazjalipe* 'agreement', *čhavoripe* 'childhood'. The one exception in this category appears to be *dživdipe* 'residence, living', which, however, unlike the other deverbal nouns, has a participial base (Friedman 1985:§2.1, 1996b:§2.09).

3 . Syntax and Semantics

3.01. Conditionals

The census materials are fairly consistent in using the Arli conditional formed by the subjunctive marker *te* plus the aorist, although usually reinforced with the older Turkism *eger* 'if': *Eger nesavo manuš te mulo* 'If someone has died', *Eger o manuš te nakhlja taro than ko than* 'if the person has emigrated', *eger o manuš te na džanglja* 'if the person does not know'. On occasion, the Macedonian construction *ako* 'if' plus aorist or present is also used *Ako o manuš meningja i adresa* 'if a person has changed address', *Ako e manušeske isi = Eger tejsi e manušeske* 'if the person has'. On occasion *eger* is used without *te*. These constructions all translate the same types of Macedonian condition (*ako* plus active or passive perfect or present), so the usages of the different Romani constructions appear to be conditioned by the desire for stylistic variation (Friedman 1996b:§3.01).

3.02. Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the census materials is remarkably creative, considering the type of language that was required. In the case of those shibboleths that serve to identify a given dialect with native speakers, Arli forms are consistently used, e.g. *thaj* 'and', *agjaar* 'thus'. The methods of vocabulary enrichment are of five types: neologisms and other constructs using native materials, Indicisms (neologisms based on Hindi or Sanskrit), Turkisms (items utilizing elements borrowed from Turkish during five centuries of Ottoman rule in Macedonia that are still in the colloquial registers of most Balkan languages), Macedonianisms (borrowings and calques based on Macedonian, some of recent origin, others probably older), and internationalisms (Greco-Latinate vocabulary that has entered many languages of the world via the languages of the Great Powers, e.g. English, French and German). The following examples are illustrative of these five types.

Neologisms: *sastakeribe* 'recuperation', *than ko pani baši mače* 'fish trap', *kombi vordona* 'mini-van', *majčače* 'or, that is to say' (Macedonian *odnosno*, German *bzw.*).

Indicism: *raštralipe* 'citizenship'.

Turkisms: *mahalkerdo* 'population', *kabil bukjake* 'employable', *kašta emiše* 'orchard', (these first three items combine Turkisms with native material), *sajbije* 'owner', *barabarluo* 'unit/union', *misafirlukoskoro* 'of the host', *askerluo* 'period of military service', *vakti (periodi)* 'time, period', *hamami* 'bathroom', *kenefi* 'toilet', *manzili ja kati* 'floor (storey)', *hali* 'situation'.

Macedonianisms: *priperipe* 'affiliation' (Mac. *pripadnost*), *pretpijatije* 'enterprise', *stepen (digra)* 'degree', *višne* 'sour cherry', *plugoja* 'plows', *lela pe ko dikhibe* 'it is taken into consideration' (Macedonian *se zema predvid*).

Internationalisms: *pesticidija* 'pesticides', *edukacijakoro* 'educational', *registriribe* 'census' (<Macedonian *registriranje* 'registration') (cf. Friedman 1996b:§3.04).

4 . Conclusion

The creation of standard languages is intimately connected with the maintenance of identities in the contexts of nation-states. Whether the language in question is that of the nation that lays claim to constituting the state or that of a national minority, the standard language itself is a vehicle for access to power and resources. While some argue that this can result in elitist practices, the counter-argument is that in the context of assimilatory pressures, standard languages are a necessary vehicle for access to education that does not result in loss of identity. In the case of Romani in the Republic of Macedonia, efforts by Romani speakers themselves, while conscious of the international movement, are taking place within a national context as a necessary first step. In the fifteen years since the first significant publication in this direction, considerable progress has been made. In terms of the purposes for which it was initiated, the 1994 Macedonian census was a statistical success and a political failure (see Friedman 1996a). However, the Romani materials that resulted from it demonstrate success for the process of the standardization of Romani. These materials show an emerging Arli dialectal base with certain elements of compromise with other dialects, increasing orthographic and grammatical consistency, possibilities for stylistic variation, and a broad range of vocabulary building techniques making significant use of native material without becoming lost in purism.

Notes

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¹Efforts at standardizing Romani elsewhere as well as on an international basis are considerably older, but they are beyond the concerns of this paper. See Hancock 1975, 1993, 1995; Kenrick 1981; Cortiade 1991; as well as Friedman 1995 and Matras 1996.

²In the 1981 census, of 43,125 who declared Romani nationality, 36,399 declared Romani as their mother tongue. However, 1,697 declaring Albanian nationality declared Romani mother tongue, as did 316 claiming Macedonian nationality, 94 claiming Turkish nationality, 308 claiming Muslim nationality, 530 claiming Yugoslav nationality, 14 claiming Serb nationality, 2 claiming Vlah nationality, and 1,280 'others' (people claiming some other nationality, no nationality, a regional identity, or giving a facetious answer, e.g. light bulb) for a total of 37,780 declaring Romani mother tongue in 1981 (Savezni zavod za statistiku 1988).

³The following raw figures for use of Romani census forms were made available to me by Dr. Svetlana Antonovska, head of the Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Macedonia. They are not to be taken as definitive, but they do give an idea of the use of the census forms.

District	Total (P-1)	Romani (P-1)	Prelim. Total	Prelim. Romani
Čair (Skopje)	88616	22500	85489	12706
Karpoš (Skopje)	126896	3300	125756	1969
Tetovo	179851	2500	174748	2407
Gostivar	112576	1100	108189	2092
Kičevo	54767	110	53044	1393
Kumanovo	127639	6200	126543	3121
Total	690345	35710	673769	23688

Explanation: The first column represents the total number of basic (P-1) census forms turned in for six of the 34 municipalities of Macedonia as reported between 25 and 31 July 1994 (Zapisnik za primo-predavanje na isečocite od Obrazec P-1). The second column represents the number of Romani forms turned in. The third column gives the total number counted for the municipality as reported in the preliminary results (Republika Makedonija, Zavod za statistika, Popis '94, Prvi rezultati Soopštenie 2, 28 December 1994). The fourth column gives the preliminary total of those declaring Romani nationality (*romska nacionalnost*). Discrepancies between the P-1 and preliminary totals are connected with incomplete or otherwise disqualified census forms or other mechanical corrections. The discrepancies between Romani census forms used and declared nationality, however, also reflect the fact that in some municipalities more people declared Romani nationality without requesting to be censused in Romani, while in others more

people were censused in Romani but declared some other nationality. The municipality of Skopje is divided into five districts. The district of Čair includes the predominantly Romani suburb of Šuto Orizari (Šutka). The preliminary total number declaring Romani nationality in the five districts of Skopje was 20,966.

⁴I was registered as an official observer of the 1994 Macedonian census in connection with my duties as a policy and political analyst for the analysis and assessment unit of the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General to UNPROFOR (changed to UNPREDEP in Macedonia in 1995) from June to August 1994.

⁵See Boretzky and Igla (1994:365–415) for an excellent summary of the Romani dialects spoken in former Yugoslavia.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Handbuch zur Tsiganologie. *Joachim S. Hohmann, ed.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang (Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Postfach 940225, 60460 Frankfurt/Main, Germany, and 275 7th Ave., 28th floor, New York, NY 10001-6708), 1996. 311 pp. DM 89, \$57.95 (paper). Studien zur Tsiganologie und Folkloristik, 15. ISBN 3-631-49321-5.

Yaron Matras

Does a discipline of social science and humanities need to justify its academic activities, and should it seek legitimation from the population whose culture it studies? This question is of special relevance in connection with—I will use the term initially, as it figures in the title of the book under review—Gypsies, who have until very recently not had an academic tradition of their own and so were unable to participate in academic discussions about their own community structure and heritage, and who have often been subjected to arbitrary administrative measures, some of which emerged with the consent of experts claiming academic authority. It is of particular relevance in Germany, where atrocities committed against Gypsies (Roma, Sinti, Jenische) just over a generation ago claimed scientific foundation through various theories of race genetics and criminal biology, and where among Gypsies protectiveness of language and traditions and non-confidence in academic institutions and research appear more strongly than in other European countries.

Joachim Hohmann's series "Studien zur Tsiganologie und Folkloristik" has been, with now 15 titles in just six years, one of the most productive fora for Gypsy-related research in recent years. The aim of this particular collection is to take an inventory of the pros and cons of the controversial term "Tsiganologie" in the title of the series, and to improve the image of Gypsy-related research by drafting an agenda for a socially responsible and politically involved discipline which could help promote the interests of the population whose culture and history it studies. The

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discussion is of uppermost importance, especially at a time where a new generation of scholars, many of them Rom, are seeking to define the objectives of their work and the nature of its ties with Gypsy communities, though there is little in the book which has not already been said or published in one form or another.

The collection consists of three parts. The first includes short articles devoted to a critical history of "Gypsyology." Several of those, namely Thomas A. Acton's discussion of Gypsy Studies (pp. 55–63), Siegmund A. Wolff's paper on Romani philology (pp. 123–127), the article by Grattan Puxon and Irene Kanafoyska, "The History of the Roma in the European Diaspora" (pp. 129–135), and Grattan Puxon's contribution, "Romanes and the Romani Language Movement" (pp. 141–149) are reproduced from a special issue of *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* (31–4, 1981) devoted to Roma and Sinti. Four contributions are by the editor himself, one of them, on "Previous Errors and Future Tasks of Scientific Research" (pp. 49–53), is a lecture delivered at the World Romani Congress in Göttingen in 1981; another, which contains an account of Robert Ritter's involvement in shaping Nazi ideology (pp. 65–83), draws heavily on earlier publications by the author on this particular subject, which are impressively numerous.

Rajko Djuric, who argues in his article on "Ziganologie" (pp. 85–87; why the different spelling here?) that Gypsyology has disfigured the truth about Gypsies, rather than uncover it ("Overall, despite the material and facts which it has gathered, Gypsyology has done more harm to the truth about this people than it has disclosed or proven"), appears to be the only Romani scholar to participate in the volume, and one is inevitably led to wonder why this is the case, given the aim of the collection.

The second part of the book (pp. 151–245) provides a partly annotated bibliography, including books, magazine articles, political statements, and pamphlets which appeared between 1978 and 1994. Its purpose is to document the era after what in Hohmann's view constituted a turning point in (German) Gypsyology, coinciding with the gradual disappearance from the publication landscape of older generation, Nazi-inspired researchers such as Hermann Arnold (to whom Hohmann devotes a separate chapter, pp. 89–106) or Johann Knobloch, and the emergence of a new kind of academic interest in Sinti and Roma (cf. p. 12). This part is actually entitled "Sinti and Roma in Scientific Research and Publications," although many titles have little connection with scientific research, while scholarly landmarks such as Michael Zimmermann's study of the Romani Holocaust (Zimmermann 1989), Mareile Krause's survey of school policies towards Roma and Sinti (Krause 1989), or Daniel Holzinger's grammar of the Sinti dialect (Holzinger 1993) are missing. The whole chapter focuses exclusively on German-language publications, but the selection seems to be quite random. Full references are lacking, and the reader is referred instead to Hohmann's bibliography of German titles (Hohmann 1992).

The final part (pp. 249–308) consists of single reports on research activities mostly in the German-speaking countries. Here we find, among others, Brigitte Fuchs' outline of a study, "The Responsibility of the Church Towards Sinti und Roma" (it looks like a grant application, but the reader is not told what it actually is), Norbert Boretzky's list of publications and manuscripts on Romani, and other outlines of research projects on music, oral and literary culture, oral history, and language. This part is most insightful and certainly serves the purpose of the collection, which I take to be de-demonizing the study of Romani or Gypsy culture. Two projects which I believe deserve particular attention, at least from the point of view of a linguist, are Mozes Heinschink's audio archive of Romani dialects in Vienna, described by Christiane Fennesz-Juhász (pp. 272–281), and the community-based codification efforts of a Romani dialect, described by Dieter W. Halwachs (pp. 281–288). No work is of course perfect, but one cannot help noticing the absence in this section of reference to recent work by prominent German-based researchers such as Michael Zimmermann, Aparna Rao, and Reimer Gronemeyer.

"Tsiganologie" means roughly "Gypsology." In his introduction (pp. 13–34), Hohmann distinguishes between "Tsiganologie" and "Zigeunerwissenschaft," roughly "Gypsy science." The latter term is intrinsically connected in Hohmann's view to the activities of Nazi-researchers (see also Hohmann 1980). "Tsiganologie" is now supposed to assume an air of objectiveness and scientific credibility through its derivation from a foreign word ("Tsigan" has no meaning in German), rather than from the derogatory "Zigeuner." Whatever the image, the book at least provides us with a more or less clear definition of the discipline's topic of research. Although no general statement is made in this regard, nearly all contributors understand Gypsology as the study of the culture and history of the ethnic community known collectively as Rom (including groups that use other labels, such as Sinti or Manush), and who share an origin, a language, and many beliefs and rituals, though not always economic structures and "lifestyle." This is sometimes made explicit (as in Karin Bott-Bodenhausen's outline of a "Roma-Related Research," pp. 107–110, or in Thomas A. Acton's contribution), calling for a departure from the more traditional understanding of Gypsology as the study of nomadic culture and itinerant or peripatetic groups. This change in attitude has political implications. For example, the Council of Europe's activities in this area, which have often drawn on research in social science and education, have until recently addressed a collective of "Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers," assuming a relevant inherent link between those groups. My impression is that most contributors to the volume reject this notion and the policies that went with it. Indeed, new labels reflect a changing attitude in multilateral organizations as well. In this respect, the editor's attempt to keep the label, but redefine its content, seems to run contrary to the general trend.

Contents: Michael Schenk, "Tsiganologie und Historische Forschung — von den Unzulänglichkeiten einer produktiven Verbindung," pp. 37–47; Joachim S. Hohmann, "Versäumnisse und Fehler früherer und Aufgaben künftiger Wissenschaften," pp. 49–53; Thomas A. Acton, "Zigeunerkunde — ein Begriff, dessen Zeit vorüber ist," pp. 55–63; Joachim S. Hohmann, "'Persilscheine' für den Schreibtischtäter," pp. 65–83; Rajko Djuric, "'Ziganologie — ein Beispiel für die Verböhnung von Geist und Wahrheit,'" pp. 85–87; Joachim S. Hohmann, "Im Geiste Robert Ritters — Leben und Werk Professor Dr. Hermann Arnolds," pp. 89–106; Karin Bott-Bodenhausen, "Ein Credo für die Romani-Forschung," pp. 107–110; Joachim S. Hohmann, "Kein Recht für die Verfolgten — Zur Wiedergutmachungspraxis im Nachkriegsdeutschland," pp. 111–121; Siegmund A. Wolff, "Von der Romanes-Philologie zur Sinte-Forschung," pp. 123–127; Grattan Puxon and Irena Kanafoyska, "Die Geschichte der Roma in der europäischen Diaspora," pp. 129–135; Siegmund A. Wolff, "Wanderwege und weltweite Verbreitung der Zigeuner — Ergebnisse tsiganologischer Geschichtsforschungen," pp. 137–139; Grattan Puxon, "Romanes und die Romani Sprachbewegung," pp. 141–149; Franz Hamburger, et al., "Das Forschungsprojekt 'Sinti und Roma in den Medien,'" pp. 249–255; Brigitte Fuchs, "Verantwortung der Kirche für Sinti und Roma: Studien zur Wahrnehmung einer kulturellen Minderheit," pp. 256–258; Norbert Boretzky, "Veröffentlichungen und Manuskripte zum Romani (Stand 1994)," pp. 259–264; Ursula Hemetek, "'Die traditionelle Musik der Roma in Österreich' — Ein ethnomusikologischer Forschungsansatz mit gesellschaftspolitischen Konsequenzen," pp. 264–272; Christiane Fennesz-Juhasz, "Tondokumente europäischer Roma: Die *Sammlung Heinschink* im Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," pp. 272–281; Dieter W. Halwachs, "Kodifizierung des Roman," pp. 281–288; Fridun Rinner, "Zum Verlauf des Forschungsprojekts 'Die Literatur der Roma und Sinti,'" pp. 288–290; Gerhard Botz, "Lebensläufe und Resistenzmechanismen in und nach extremen Verfolgungssituationen im 'Dritten Reich,'" pp. 291–297; Arne B. Mann, "Forschungsergebnisse zur Kultur und Lebensweise der Roma in der Slowakei," pp. 297–301; Anna Jurova, "Zur Erforschung der sogenannten 'Zigeunerfrage,'" pp. 302–303; Eva Krekovicová, "Reflexion des Bildes des Zigeuners in der Folklore," pp. 303–308.

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Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945. Ctibor Nečas. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita (Arna Nováka 1, 660 88 Brno, Czech Republic), 1994. 220 pp. (paper). ISBN 80-210-0945-4.

Paul J. Polansky

Czechoslovakian Romanies from 1938–1945 is the English title of Ctibor Nečas' book published by Masaryk University with a grant from the Czech Ministry of Culture. In the introduction, Nečas explains that this book was previously published in 1981 under the title *The Fate of Czech and Slovak Gypsies from 1939 to 1945* (Nečas 1981), but by popular demand has been updated and reprinted. The only change I found in the new edition is that Nečas now uses the term Romany instead of Gypsy.

The author, born in 1933, is a professor at Masaryk University in Brno. Educated as an historian under the former communist system, he specialized in the early 1970s in Gypsy studies, discovering materials concerning the so-called Gypsy work camps in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the occupation of the Third Reich. With the publication of this same book in 1981 he established himself as the best source of information on Romanies in Czechoslovakia during World War II.

The significance of Nečas' book is that he opened the door for historians interested in the Romany Holocaust in Czechoslovakia. The book is divided into three parts, dealing with The Romanies in Czechoslovakia, The Genocide of Sintis and Czech Romanies, and The Fate of the Hungarian and Slovakian Romanies.

Nečas begins the book with a review of the Romany problem in Czechoslovakia from 1919, quoting frequently from official records and documents. The book is well footnoted and in an appendix he lists the archives where he found his information.

Nečas describes the fate of the Czechoslovakian Romanies, the legislation passed against them, and offers good detail about the individual work camps—where they were located, the number of the Romany inmates, their daily program,

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the kind of work they had to do, hygiene, sanitary and social conditions. Especially in the third part of the book, Nečas goes into specific atrocities committed by the Germans and Slovaks against the Romanies in Slovakia.

If there were no survivors today, Nečas' book would be the last word on what happened to the Romanies in Czechoslovakia during World War II. His conclusion, that the Germans were the only perpetrators of Romany genocide in the Czech lands during the war, went unchallenged in 1981.

Nečas' book has been reprinted today not because of "popular demand" as he says in his introduction, but because the Czech Republic needs something, anything, to refute the charges that the Czechs themselves killed their own Gypsies during World War II.

"We are different," was Vaclav Havel's campaign message when he and his fellow dissidents sought office after the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia in 1989. Their election promised an uncovering of the crimes the communists had swept under the carpet. Instead, the economic miracle of the Czech Republic today is being used to continue World War II and Cold War coverups so that the Czechs do not have to confess on the international stage to outrages against humanity as the Germans have had to do.

The publication of Ctibor Nečas' works since 1992 by the Czech Ministry of Culture is a prime example of this continued coverup. Confronted by an international interest in what happened to the Romanies in their country during World War II, and what is happening to them today, the Czech government is using Nečas as their spokesman and puppet.

To give him credit as an historian, Nečas tried under communism to seek out and collect documents on what happened to the Czech Gypsies during World War II. Unfortunately, Nečas worked under a regime which limited his investigative possibilities. Since people were afraid to talk during the communist reign of terror, Nečas limited his research to finding documents. If the evidence was not on paper, he ignored it. If evidence was missing, like big gaps in correspondence, accounts, arrivals lists, and transports to Auschwitz, he ignored that too, never considering that what he had found had actually been left as a coverup of what really had happened.

Nečas' attempt to estimate the number of Romanies in Czechoslovakia prior to World War II epitomizes his research throughout the book. He quotes official sources as listing the number of Gypsies in the Protectorate at 6,540 in 1940. The *New York Times* in 1938 estimated that 35,000 Gypsies lived in the Czech lands with more than 80,000 in Slovakia. These numbers are significant because if the *New York Times* estimates are correct, Nečas needs to write another book explaining what happened to those missing thousands.

Nečas never explains how the Romanies historically came to be in Czechoslovakia, nor does he mention the laws that were formulated to keep them out of towns and cities from the 15th century until the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1919. He contends "the first law" against them was in 1888; a more modern version appeared in 1928 that prohibited them from traveling or camping without first registering and receiving permission.

During World War II, the Czechs ran a camp for Gypsies near the village of Lety in south Bohemia. Depending on whom one interviews, the camp was: a recreation camp (former administrator), a work camp (former guard), a concentration camp (Auschwitz museum), a death camp (Lety villager), or an extermination camp (Lety survivor).

Who was responsible for what happened at the camp, also depends upon the person you speak to. But the present-day attitude in the Czech Republic is summed up by Dr. Pecka, deputy director of the Institute of Modern History in Prague: "We were a protectorate of Germany during that time. Anything that happened while the Germans were here, they are responsible for. We don't want to even study this era."

Although President Havel has admitted that only Czech guards were at Lety, the Czech government has refused to investigate war crimes there despite survivors' reports such as this: "There were no Germans at Lety; only the Czechs tortured us, murdering thousands of our children by sticking their heads in buckets of water."

Nečas has preferred to stay away from the polemics and has relied on archive records. On that basis, he concludes that Lety was a work camp where many prisoners died because of a lack of sanitary conditions. He feels that no more than 300 Romanies perished at Lety, all from disease, although he admits hundreds more were shipped to Auschwitz.

In order to quell an international demand for an independent investigation (proposed by the United States Holocaust Museum), the present day Czech government prefers to publish Nečas' findings. In the meantime, the Czech government refuses to allow other Holocaust historians access to the Czech records or to microfilm them, although the Holocaust Museum has promised in writing to pay for a complete copy.

Nečas has published the names of over 1,300 Romanies who were interned at Lety (Nečas 1987), but he has never published the list of guards (all Czech) who murdered the Gypsy children. The personal files of the 97 Lety guards are also to be found in the archive records, but Nečas has remained uncomfortably silent about the existence of this information.

In a personal appeal to President Havel, I begged him to use his position to prod the proper authorities to seek out not only the survivors of Lety (at one time estimated to be about 80), but also the Czech guards.

Havel replied that Lety was out of his jurisdiction. Instead he sponsored a seminar on racism last year where half the speeches were dedicated to explaining that bigotry never existed in the Czech lands until the Nazis imported their policies in 1939. Meanwhile, Havel's secretary and aides advise anyone interested in the Gypsy problem to read Nečas, who headed the list of speakers at the president's seminar.

Since 1992 the Czech Ministry of Culture has published several books by Nečas, but the government is allowing nothing to be published in government-sponsored Romany publications about what is happening to the Romanies today in their country. Nečas avoids in writing what he told me in person: "...the new Czech citizenship law (1993) is designed to disenfranchise 300,000 Czech Gypsies from being allowed to stay in our country."

Until the Czech government became involved in his work, Nečas' books could not be found in any bookstore in Prague. Now the government wants to make him required reading.

An international outcry forced the Czech government to put up a monument in May 1995 for the Romany victims at Lety, but the result fell far short of the Helsinki agreements on preserving World War II death camps. Since a monument could not be erected on the original site because the government had built a pig farm there, a few small field stones were rolled together in an empty field, decorated by a sign that in three languages describes the Nazis' responsibility. No path was built to the site, hidden in a woods. Questioned by the press, Minister Nemec, in charge of Roma affairs, said the government had spent enough money; if the Gypsies wanted a road or a path to their memorial they could build it themselves.

After the memorial dedication, attended by President Havel, the Ministry of Culture sponsored a Romany Holocaust seminar where only Professor Nečas was allowed to speak about Lety. The other speakers lectured about Auschwitz. A Lety survivor who attended the seminar with six other survivors walked out in disgust. She later told me, "Lety was worse than Auschwitz. I know, I was in both camps. The Germans were angels compared to the Czech guards."

Dr. Nečas told me that he knows of several Lety survivors but he has never interviewed them. He left me with the impression that the government didn't approve. I forgot to ask him which Czech government: the former communist regime, or the present one whose president wrote a famous political essay entitled, "Living In Truth."

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Bury Me Standing: Two Views

Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey. *Isabel Fonseca*. New York: Knopf, 1995. 322 pp. \$25 (cloth). ISBN 0-679-40678-6.

Jonathan Freud

The church bells call the townsfolk to gather, and the sound fills them with an intoxicating sensation of crusade. Before take-off, their action is formally blessed by the local priest, and to strengthen their courage they are served free drinks at the tavern. Armed with iron rods and burning torches they march away, shouting curses, towards the houses of the hated minority. By his presence the town policeman sanctions their mission, and the mayor arranges personally for the fire brigade to be delayed.

They burn the homes of the object of their hatred and kill quite a few of them. No investigation follows, and nobody is ever taken to court.

This is the standard model of a pogrom in Russia during the days of the Tsar. Then, Jews were the victims. Once again, after the fall of communism, homes are burning in Eastern and Central Europe. This time the Gypsies are the scapegoats for everything that goes awry, and these frequent events hardly ever reach the media in the western world. In *Bury Me Standing* Isabel Fonseca takes us to places such as Hădăreni, Reghin, Lunga, Turulung, Seica Mare, and Cîlnic, to mention a few names that should never be forgotten. The new pogroms she recounts follow the old pattern exactly. After one of the massacres a clergyman explained to her, "Even God is fed up with Gypsies. They are pagans. They had to be taught humility." And she was often assured, "Killing Gypsies is charity, not murder." Though traveling through beautiful landscapes, Fonseca journeyed over "a tundra of intolerance." She presents the events unobtrusively and leaves the reader to draw the conclusions, a convincing method which also adds to the intensity and strength of her prose.

For 400 years, until 1856, Gypsies were slaves in Romania. Virtually nothing has been published as yet about the origins of slavery and very little on the history of Gypsy slavery in general. As far as this reviewer knows, Fonseca's research and

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description of the phenomenon are a scientific "scoop." Especially interesting are her theories about how the enslavement began; parallels with the African Americans are obvious. The greater part of the Gypsy population seems to have been brought forcibly to Romania from south of the Danube for the sole purpose of enslavement. The words *țigan* and "slave" became interchangeable; they described a particular social caste. Suffering constant discrimination since their emancipation, deported and murdered during World War II, and the object of pogroms in our day, their accumulated animosity towards non-Gypsies, the former slave owners, is not difficult to understand.

Part of the hatred toward Gypsies stems from pure jealousy. Rom, like all peoples not tied to the soil, adjust more easily to changing circumstances, and often have an entrepreneurial flair. They make money in all types of small business, and they opened the first privately owned cafés and bars in Eastern Europe. Occasionally they are too successful in the eyes of their countrymen, often dispirited by tradition, church, and communism.

While the political leaders and the media of the western world express their satisfaction with former communist dictatorships now on the road to democracy, for the Gypsies the big change since the revolutions of 1989 is the sharp escalation of hatred and violence directed at them. This reviewer has many times heard Romanian Gypsies talking about the good days of Ceaușescu.

Books about Gypsies are often composed according to a standard pattern: when and how the Gypsies left India, when they came to different European countries and how they were treated, where they live today, that they consist of several distinct groups, etc. We get some information about their languages, culture, and folklore. At the end most writers add a few words about the relations of the Gypsies with the majority populations and about discrimination in certain countries or places. Often the reader gets an incorrect picture of a fragmented people in our days slowly fading away. *Bury Me Standing* is something completely different.

Isabel Fonseca tells us the sad story of a cultural guerrilla war, raging constantly since the 14th century, between two lifestyles, Rom versus non-Gypsies. As they are perpetually in a position of inferiority, the Gypsies regard it as a purely defensive war. Their normal tack is to avoid open confrontation, to turn their backs to non-Gypsies. Now and then they make raids into enemy territory, like any guerrilla, to collect supplies or to strengthen their positions. Some get caught, but even in captivity they do their utmost to maintain their identity and loyalties. A few become traitors. This war perspective is probably the most productive starting point from which to discuss the relations between Rom and other European peoples, and Fonseca leads us directly into the confrontation. She traveled in Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Moldova, Poland, and Germany, where she met all kinds of Gypsies—from the uprooted, glue sniffing, prostituted street kids in Sofia, to the

colorful and proud Kalderash Rom of Transylvania, who have already adjusted to changing times and make good money trading second-hand cars instead of the horses of old days.

A number of vibrant characters walk through the pages of *Bury Me Standing*. Fonseca has drawn living, dramatic, and not always flattering portraits of Gypsologists, Gypsy activists, the poet Papusza, King Ion Cioba and his cousin the Emperor of All Gypsies Everywhere, Iulian Radulescu, and Gypsies of all brands. Often they are described with warmth and humor. The way the Czech linguist and Gypsologist Milena Hübschmannová looks at a Gypsy thief is worth quoting.

...a thief was not a thief but, say, someone who, divested of his traditional economic niche, had adapted to a new but still symbiotic relationship with the *gadjo*, from whom he earned his goods in exchange for status in a period of economic and political crisis, status conferred on the *gadjo* by the Rom, who, in the act of unburdening him, offers himself up as a sacrificial scapegoat...(p. 104).

But the book itself never becomes apologetic. Not all popular images are mythic. Gypsies do fight, some steal potatoes and chickens, and others use window frames for firewood. Fonseca is a penetrating and honest witness who remains optimistic for the future of the Gypsy people.

The book has an omnipresent underlying theme which Isabel Fonseca touches upon only gingerly, the similarities between the experiences of Jews and Gypsies in Europe. As a Jew she now and then met some milder forms of anti-Semitism during her journey, but she realizes the difference. In her own words, "By contrast, Gypsies, everywhere in sight, are the focus of a more robust hatred.... Walls across Eastern and Central Europe are sprayed with Death-to-Gypsies slogans, too many to be the work or sentiment of a small group" (p. 208). In the countries where Fonseca traveled, Jews and Gypsies share hundreds of years of discrimination and persecution, culminating in the Holocaust. As she points out, our dead share the mass graves of Chelmno. Yet today Jews are comparatively safe. We have the State of Israel, strong international organizations, and articulate spokesmen. The Gypsies have nothing, save a few idealists and some bulibashas, a self-proclaimed king and a homemade Emperor. The Holocaust is forgotten and they are persecuted everywhere as if it had never taken place.

Somewhere between the lines of *Bury Me Standing* I felt a question of deep moral importance. Do Jews today, living in relative security, have a special obligation as fellow human beings, but even more so as Jews, towards our co-victims in affliction?

Bury Me Standing is an important book, and it is a piece of great literature.

Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey. *Isabel Fonseca.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1995. 304 pp. £18.50 (cloth). ISBN 0-7011-3851-3.

Sinéad ní Shuinéar

Bury Me Standing is essentially a popularization of serious historical and ethnographic research carried out by persons other than the author. Because it is well written, well presented, and well publicized, it will reach an audience incomparably wider than any of the academics drawn upon could aspire to, conveying the broad thrust of their work without the fine detail. The upshot should be increased public awareness of the Roma as real people, both historically and individually, and—since the author is favorably disposed to the Romani cause, without discounting the complaints of their non-Gypsy neighbors—should foster public sympathy for Roma claims.

The layout of the book was inspired. Rather than beginning at the beginning, with historical minutiae, Fonseca plunges us into the doubly mysterious world of Albania and Romani culture in concrete, personal detail. This is unprecedented material. She boldly goes where virtually no one has gone before, and conveys her experiences in zippy prose; the reader is hooked.

The more self-revealing Fonseca is, the more I like it. I was delighted, for example, to read that, in response to repeated provocation, she kicked her tormenter in the shin. She goes on to describe the victim's response, and her own reaction to it. This gives us a glimpse of the fact that this is not a "fly on the wall," but a person of flesh and blood like those she describes, and as emotionally involved. We don't get nearly enough of this, though.

The author's original work is concentrated on the section on Albania; the originality quotient declines from chapter to chapter thereafter. There lies one of the work's most important shortcomings. This is not an academic text, but a popular work, and it would be unfair to expect the exhaustive referencing demanded of academic writing. At the same time, the reader is ill served by the reproduction of hard historical facts without credit to the original researchers. Without citations, how can the reader know which information the author got from other people's books, which she derived from original sources, which she observed first hand, and which she got from books and then confirmed by personal observation? For example, for all we know, she discovered the Firdausi quotation independently on

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disingenuous disclaimer at the opening of the book in no way assuages this betrayal. "I wonder if illiterate people have any concept of what putting them in a book really means?" she muses, knowing well that they do not. But she does. In the light of the fact that she opens the book with a description of how betrayed Roma felt over the Polish Gypsy poet Papusza's revelation of her own—not others', and not the group's—feelings, Fonseca's disclaimers take on a tone of contemptuous irony. I suspect she would not get a great deal of cooperation from her informants for any sequel to the book. I also suspect that no continuation of these relationships was ever contemplated. Everyone quoted or mentioned is treated as disposable.

For Fonseca, only women and their lives are "real." There is an "institution of male laziness" (p. 41); the division of labor in the Duka household is "washing and carrying and cooking for the *boria*, smoking and cards and TV for the boys" (p. 23). Men "did nothing" (p. 41), they are "jobless and bored" (p. 47) despite the fact that money comes into the house on a regular basis in a country with no social welfare system and the one family member with "a job" earning, in his own estimation, 5 kilograms of meat per month. The author points out that the family ate meat daily, more often than would be considered usual in a developed country, and far more often than their Albanian peers. She also goes into detail about vast amounts of ready cash stored in bras or among household paraphernalia. Yet none of the women engage in anything other than domestic labor, nor do the children beg. Gypsies, says Fonseca, are "natural entrepreneurs," but the only reported entrepreneurial activity in the immediate family is Nicu's importation of Turkish ovens which he is unable to sell. Could it be that here she has drawn a veil of discretion over information likely to damage her hosts? I would like to think so.

On page 106 Fonseca speculates that Roma beliefs regarding practical versus symbolic dirt and cleanliness are "superstitious vestiges of hygiene practices that would have been very sensible in nomadic times." However, British Gypsies, from whom her examples are taken, are still by and large nomadic. Furthermore, this is absurd as a functionalist explanation. Fonseca describes, in the Slovakian context, the squalor that results when a nomadic mind-set is placed in a sedentary dwelling (although she does not see it this way). Nomads may leave organic household rubbish on a site used for a short period; in time, the land will regenerate. The same practice transferred to the environment of a permanent dwelling, with the addition of the metal, plastic, and other flotsam of modern life, produces squalor. Thus in practical (functional) terms, sedentarism requires greater attention to pollution than does nomadism.

Fonseca claims (p. 50) that ethnic aversion is always related to fear of dirt and disease, and that Gypsies' indifference to non-Gypsy norms of personal grooming (for example, mending clothes) is at the root of non-Gypsies' aversion to Gypsies.

routine trawling through ancient Persian manuscripts, and translated it herself. Even more disturbing is the reproduction of scholarly interpretations of those facts virtually verbatim without acknowledgment of the source or even a mention that a given author discusses a question.

On the other hand, Fonseca appears to have taken steps towards repaying her debt to serious scholars by unearthing and photocopying quantities of generally inaccessible Romanian archive materials.

The author's treatment of her own methodology is nebulous. We don't learn how many trips she made to any of the countries mentioned, how long she spent in any of them in all or on any given occasion, or in what order trips were made. Fonseca tries to give an impression of a stay in Albania so prolonged that it is experienced as timelessness—"the days and weeks seemed to roll into one another" (p. 60, British edition). In fact the visit appears to have been a single one of between four and six weeks ("my stay" [p. 28] of "more than a month" [p. 27]).

Fonseca is also reticent about how she actually went about communicating with people. In Chapter One, her grasp of Romani is such that she effortlessly understands proverbs, jokes, and idiosyncratic figures of speech. Two hundred pages later, in Poland, and after Albania (the stamp in her passport is specifically mentioned in this context), she is nervously practicing a simple phrase. She does not explain how she went about learning the Romani language, nor how well she speaks it, although already on pages 56-57 she is assisting the linguist Donald Kenrick in retranslating the latter's Romani *Romeo and Juliet* back into English. She is particularly coy about how well she spoke Romani when she first arrived in the "total immersion" linguistic environment of the Duka household in Albania. How can a person who "had hoped that staying with a family would give me a chance to learn some Romani" (p. 53) and only just learning the terms for everyday domestic objects (pp. 54-55) have the kind of grasp of idiom, pun, imagery, allusion, and proverb, that she implies in the snippets of conversation she reproduces from the same setting? Given that bodily functions are never discussed, how did she understand the idiomatic joke punch line about orgasm? Or are these detailed reports of first-person speech more poetic license than ethnography?

Fonseca interviews people in more than half a dozen countries, but only in Romania and Bulgaria is there mention of an interpreter. How does she do it?

Bury Me Standing raises serious questions about the author's relationships with her informants. Details of a private nature about the Albanian Gypsy family with whom she stayed are revealed in an identifiable setting, and photographs of named individuals are published alongside these minutiae. Of course the reader, myself included, has a prurient interest in having a good gawp at a woman who, by her own admission, has had 28 abortions, but this sort of information, like the other private details, could have been conveyed without betraying confidence. The

How does this apply in reverse? Are Gypsies repelled by clothing that fits the wearer and has no gaping holes in it?

Fonseca asserts that she was not permitted to engage in domestic work because such activity would have been inappropriate for a guest. She does not consider that she would have polluted everything she touched. She speaks of pollution as if it were a concept in a book which is referred to out of mundane habit. That it may be, not "superstition," but a fundamental and pervasive thread in a cohesive, all-encompassing world view which also includes her, does not seem to have been considered.

It is regrettable that the author never defines what she means by the term "superstition," which she invariably invokes to explain anything that makes no sense to her. I deduce that she intends it to cover disembodied survivals of otherwise defunct beliefs and practices; like the buttons on a man's suit cuffs, these are seen to be utterly superficial, adhered to out of unquestioning habit. Fonseca does not seem familiar with the concept of culture as a cohesive system, although many of the scholars she consulted utilize this concept in their work on Gypsies.

Fonseca is out of her depth when she ventures into formulating her own analysis. This would have been a better book if she had concentrated on recounting her own experiences and observations (including her observations of what the anthropologists, ethnographers, linguists, and political activists she encountered have to say) and on reproducing with credit the scholarly work of others. Then it would have been an exercise in journalism fair and square.

Correspondence

I note several errors which appeared in "Romani Language Standardization," by Vania de Gila Kochanowski (JGLS 5, 5: 97-107), and which were corrected by the author in proof. The most important of these follow.

1. Page 97. To omit the morphological data which justify the author's choice of eastern Baltic Gypsy as the foundation of the internationalization of Romani is to retain only the phonological data—the resistance of non-Vlach dialects to the palatalization of occlusives before front vowels *-i* and *-e*—data which are not specific to eastern Baltic.

2. Page 98. In the table at the end of the page, "fricative" should read "hushing," "voiced fricative" should read "voiceless hushing."

3. Page 99 (Table 1). Under Serbo-Croatian, column 3, *ž* should read *Ω* under Kelderari and Lovari, *š* should fall in the "ch" column, and be removed from the "s" column.

4. Page 100 (Table 2). Omission of the *nota bene* added by the author in proof. Also, "dentals" should read "sibilants;" "palatals" should read "hushings."

5. Page 103. Line 5, "Lithuanian" should read "Latvian;" fourth full paragraph, "quality" should read "quantity."

6. Page 105. Important paragraph added in proof and table omitted.

7. Page 106 (References cited). The so-called decision on "the Romani alphabet" was never the work of Sait Balić, President of the Romani Union, but rather that of Mr. Cortiade, against whom the majority of the Gypsies writing Romani correctly rebel.

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Information for Contributors

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 Plasere, Leonardo. 1987. In Search of New Niches: The Productive Organization of the Peripatetic Xoraxané in Italy. In *The Other Nomads*. Aparna Rao, ed. Pp. 111-132. Köln: Böhlau.
 Rehfsch, Farnham, ed. 1975. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*. New York: Academic Press.
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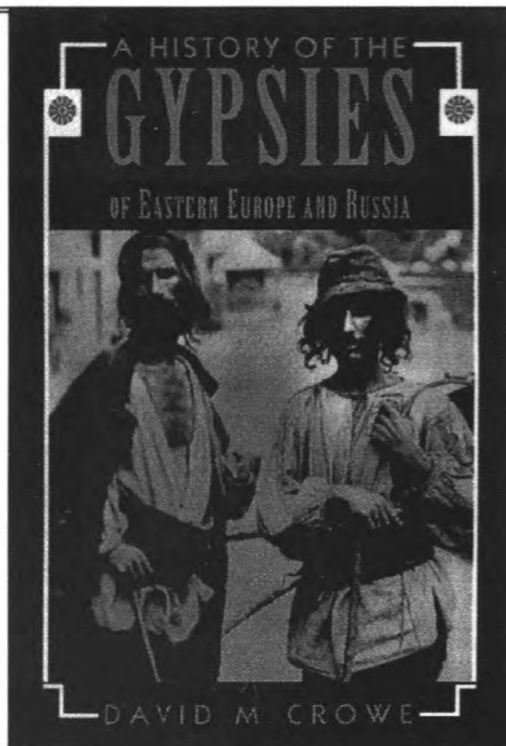
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